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HISTORICAL ESSAYS

UPON

PARIS.

Tranſlated from the FRENCH

OF

MR. DE SAINTFOIX.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

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Manners, Uſages, and Cuſtoms under the ſecond Race.

IT is manifeſt, the French had no other intention in attacking Gaul, than to quit their foreſts for the ſake of enjoying an eaſier life, in fruitful, plenteous, and cultivated Provinces. If their object had been to have founded an Empire, they would not have failed to enact in one of their Aſſemblies in the *Field of Mars*, that the Royalty ſhould be indiviſible, the Succeſſion in the eldeſt ſon, and that the portions of the younger children ſhould revert to the

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Crown, in default of male iſſue. *Clovis*'s four ſons, by dividing his Conqueſts amongſt them, formed ſo many different Kingdoms; and this fatal partition, beſides weakening the general ſtrength of the Nation by dividing it, did not fail to become an inexhauſtible ſource of oppoſite claims, diſtruſts, animoſities, and civil wars, fomented by jealouſy and ambition, amongſt theſe Princes and their Succeſſors.

The ſame cauſe produced the ſame melancholy effects, under the ſecond Race. The French, Maſters of almoſt all Europe in the Reign of *Charlemain*, ſoon ſaw their glory and grandeur vaniſh, by the partitions which *Lewis* the Debonnaire made in favour of each of his children. "The diviſion of the French Em-"pire," ſays *Mezerai*, "between three brothers "equal in power, diſunited the people of Gaul "from thoſe of Germany and Italy, who were "beginning to unite into one Monarchical body." France, drained of Soldiers, by the wars theſe Princes waged with each other, fell an eaſy prey to the ravages of the Normans.

The Popes owed all their temporal fortune to *Charlemain*; but Prieſts frequently imagine they are not beholden to any but God Almighty. They availed themſelves of the troubles, to endeavour

deavour at fettering their Emperors. It was in the boſom of Diſcord, that they forged thoſe thunder-bolts, which the ſuperſtition and ignorance of thoſe times rendered ſo dreadful.

Under the firſt Race, the heir to the Throne had the hatchet, or *Angon* * of his predeceſſor put into his hand. He was then raiſed upon the ſhield; that is, he was carried by Soldiers round the Camp upon their bucklers. Such was the noble and ſimple method of inaugurating our firſt Kings. Neither thoſe who preſented the hatchet or *Angon*, nor the Soldiers who carried them round the Camp, ever imagined from this ceremony, that they had a power of dethroning them. St. *Boniface* †, Archbiſhop of

* A kind of Javelin, one of whoſe ends reſembled a Flower de Luce. The iron in the middle was ſtreight, pointed, and ſharp; the other two parts which joined to it, were curved, in the manner of a Creſcent. There is all the reaſon in the world to believe, that the figure formed by this end of the *Angon*, was firſt of all placed as an ornament, at the end of ſcepters, and round crowns; that our Kings choſe it afterwards for their Arms, and that people are miſtaken in believing that this was a Flower de Luce.

† *Upon every occaſion*, ſays *Mezerai*, *he acted in ſuch a manner, that every thing he did, had relation to the Pope's Sovereignty, to which he was entirely devoted.*

Some Authors aver, that this ſame *Boniface* informed againſt *Virgilius* the Prieſt, whom the Pope excommunicated, becauſe he maintained that there were Antipodes.

Mentz, and Legate of the Holy See, perſuaded *Pepin* the Short, (the firſt King who was conſecrated) that by cauſing himſelf to be anointed, in imitation of the Kings of Iſrael, with holy oil, he would render his perſon more auguſt, and his power more reſpectable; and that his election, far from being looked upon as an uſurpation, would be conſidered as a decree of Heaven. The introduction of this ceremony, which was never put in practice till the period of which we are ſpeaking, was a ſhoot of that proud delirium, which led Churchmen to make ſo many attacks upon the ſecular authority. As the Biſhops, by impoſing the Crown, appeared to confer it as on the part of God, they preſumed alſo that they had a power to take it off, and to judge and depoſe their Sovereigns *. They were no longer meek Paſtors, modeſtly ſeated in Councils, upon wooden benches, with wax-tapers in their hands: They were new Potentates, armed with thunder-bolts, and riding ſublime above the ſtorms and tempeſts they excited in the State; Imagining themſelves to have reached Heaven with their heads, they trampled upon ſcepters with their imperious feet, and gave or diſtributed theſe enſigns of Royalty juſt as they pleaſed.

They

* Vide M. *de Fleuri* Hiſt. Eccleſ. Diſc. IV. N. X.

They declared the Emperor *Lotharius* to have forfeited his ſhare in the ſucceſſion of his anceſtors, and gave, by *divine authority*, the Dominions he poſſeſſed beyond the mountains, to his two younger brothers. They forgot, that one brother complaining of another, and ſolliciting *Jeſus Chriſt* to regulate their ſeveral partitions, *Jeſus Chriſt* replied, *Who made me a Judge or Divider over you?*

Can it be believed that *Venilon*, Archbiſhop of Sens, could have had the audacity to excommunicate and depoſe *Charles* the Bald; and would one conceive that it was a Monarch who ſpoke in a Writing which this Prince publiſhed againſt that ſeditious Prieſt? "This Prelate," ſays he, "ought not to have depoſed me, till "I had appeared before the Biſhops who con- "ſecrated me, and till I had received their ſen- "tence *, to which I always have been, and "ever will be very ſubmiſſive. They are the "Thrones of God, and it is by them that he "pronounces his decrees."

* *Quâ conſecratione vel regni ſublimitate, ſupplantari vel projici à nullo debueram, ſaltem ſine audientiâ & judicio Epiſcoporum quorum miniſterio in regem ſum conſecratus, & qui Throni Dei ſunt dicti; in quibus Deus ſedet & per quos ſua decernit judicia; quorum paternis correctionibus & caſtigatoriis judiciis me ſubdere fui paratus & in præſenti ſum ſubditus.* Libel. adverſus *Venilonem.* Apud *Duch.* T. II. p. 436.

It was not poſſible for a King who had acknowledged himſelf removeable at the will of the Clergy, who ſome years after received the Imperial Crown as a gift of the Holy See, and who took upon him the title of the Pope's Counſellor of State, to appear to the French Nobility in any other light, than that of the vain and ridiculous phantom of an Emperor, whom it was ſhameful to obey. Royalty is reſpected even in a wicked Prince, if he does not in other reſpects diſgrace it; but it is repugnant to Nature, to ſubmit to Maſters who have rendered themſelves contemptible. Each Lord, under pretence of protecting his Eſtates from the incurſions of the Normans, meditated nothing but to fortify himſelf in his Caſtle. The greateſt part of the Governors of the Provinces uſurped the inheritance of their *Counties*, which till then they only enjoyed during life; and the houſe of *Charlemain*, daily declining in the midſt of troubles and diviſions, no longer held the ſcepter but with a feeble and trembling hand.

Another Cauſe of this Decline.

The French whom *Pharamond* conducted to the conqueſt of Gaul, were a Colony of the people who inhabited between the Weſer and the

the Elbe; and our Kings of the firſt Race gloried in being of the ſame blood as the Princes who governed the *Saxons*, who were the moſt powerful Nation amongſt that people. *Charlemain* undertook to ſubdue them, and this war continued upwards of thirty years. Proſtrate under the Victor's chariot, after the moſt bloody engagements, they ſeemed for ſome time to have relinquiſhed their haughtineſs; but ſoon, chafing with rage, at the ſight of their chains, they once more tempted the fate of war. *Charlemain* let himſelf be perſuaded that he could never mould them to his yoke, but by forcing them to embrace Chriſtianity. He declared that *every Saxon, who would not get himſelf baptized, and who from that time ſhould eat meat in Lent, ſhould ſuffer death* *. Thus was the God of Peace anounced to them with ſword in hand; and they were compelled to receive Baptiſm, in places that were ſtill reeking with their Countrymen's blood. Their obſtinate perſeverance in Paganiſm, and their continual revolts, deſerved, according to ſome Hiſtorians, all the evils and cruel treatment they met with. Do theſe Hiſtorians then look upon the changing of one's Religion as a matter ſo very eaſy? Is God deſirous, that his worſhip ſhould be propagated

* Vide the Capitularies, anno 780.

by force and violence? Can the brave *Vitikint* be called a rebel for defending his Liberty and his Country? The Saxons who ſhould not be confounded with other people nearer the Rhine, that had ſubmitted themſelves to *Charles Martel* and *Pepin* the Short; the Saxons, I ſay, who were free-born, were they to be deemed rebellious, were they criminal, becauſe they reddened at the bondage which a foreign Power held up to them?

Several families of this unhappy Nation took refuge in Denmark and Norway, where they diffuſed a hatred and horror of the Chriſtian Religion, and the name of a Frenchman. It is ſaid, that *Charlemain* perceiving from a window of a Caſtle by the Sea-ſide, a Fleet of thoſe *Normans* * who were preparing to make a deſcent upon

* Their veſſels were built of nothing but branches of willow and oſier, which they covered with the hides of oxen. *Norman*, a man of the North, or *Morman*, a Sea man: *Mor* ſignified in Celtic, and ſtill ſignifies in Britiſh, *Sea*, and *Man* the ſame as in Engliſh. *Sidonius Apollinaris*, who wrote in the time of *Merouée* and *Childeric*, ſays (Book VIII. Epiſt. VI.) *Shipwrecks which people are expoſed to in attempting any enterpriſe, appear to the Saxons as inconveniencies, but not as obſtacles; that one would believe they had ſeen the Sea dry, ſo juſt and exact is their knowledge of all its banks and ſhoals; that a dreadful tempeſt encreaſes their hopes, and that they congratulate themſelves, when ſtruggling againſt the furious waves,*

upon our Coaſts, ſaid, with tears in his eyes, *If they dare to threaten my Realms, whilſt I am ſtill living, what will they not do after I am dead?* A fatal preſage, which was afterwards but too fully confirmed, when the diviſions and civil wars which tore France in pieces, in the Reigns of his ſon and grand-ſons, procured thoſe implacable enemies ſuch eaſy means of penetrating into the Kingdom on all ſides. They ravaged it at different times for nearly fourſcore years. The burning of one Province was only the prelude to their deſtroying another; the fields were no longer cultivated; the peaſants flew for ſhelter into the thickeſt woods, and into ſubterraneous retreats which they had dug for themſelves: Never was there a more terrible devaſtation. It ſeemed as if the ſovereign Arbiter of the fate of people and Kings had ſaid from the top of his Throne; "The Saxons, againſt whom France "waged an unjuſt and barbarous war, ſhall cover "her with the ſame wounds which ſhe inflicted "on their Country; I will reject, I will extin- "guiſh the Race of *Charlemain*; his pomp and "magnificence ſhall paſs away like a ſhadow, and "I will conduct the Deſcendants of *Vitikint* into "the heritage of the Princes of their blood."

 This

waves, that Heaven grants ſo proper a ſeaſon for rendering ſecure againſt the fear of a deſcent, ſuch Coaſts as they want to ſurpriſe and pillage.

This generous Defender of the remains of Germany, after having found for ſixteen or ſeventeen years, that all the efforts of his courage had only ſerved to compleat the misfortunes of the people whom he commanded, reſolved to pay homage to *Charlemain*. The Conferences he held in the mean time with ſome Biſhops, enlightened his underſtanding. He received Baptiſm, and afterwards lived in ſo Chriſtian-like a manner, that, after his death, he was placed amongſt the number of the Saints. He was killed in 807 by *Gerold*, Duke of Suabia. "His Poſte-"rity," ſays *Paſquier* †, "began to ſettle in "France, and were deſtined to terminate and "cloſe the Line of *Charlemain*." He left two ſons; ſome Hiſtorians ſay four ‡, *Thierri*, *Vitikint* the Younger, *Immir*, and *Reginben*: they were couſins german to the Empreſs *Hildegarde*, wife to *Charlemain*, and daughter to the Duke of the Suevi. *Thierri* ſucceeded his father in the government of Saxony. *Vitikint* the Younger aſſumed the name of *Robert* at his Baptiſm, remained in France, and was father of *Robert* the Strong, *Count of Anjou*, and *Marquis of France*, and great-grand-father to *Hugh Capet*. It is recorded in an antient Charter of the Abbey of

† Tom. I. Lib. VI. Cap. I.

‡ *Alberici* Monachi Chron.

of St. Martin of Tours, that in the year 863, *Charles* the Bald gave that Abbey to *Robert*, *Count of Anjou*, *of the Saxon Race*, *and Son of R.* by way of abbreviation: ſome have copied this *Robert*, and others *Richard*. The Abbé d'*Urſperg*, and an ancient Chronicle quoted by *Fauchet*, who was a very accurate writer, ſay, that *Robert the Strong was Son to Vitikint*. We find again that *Charles* the Bald gave the command of his Army againſt the Bretons, to *Vitikint* * and *Robert* his Son. *Aimoin*, who wrote in the Reign of King *Robert*, Son of *Hugh Capet*, avers, that *Robert* the Strong was of Saxon deſcent; *Robertus Andegavenſis comes*, *Saxonici generis vir*. "The regal Power paſſed, ſays an Hiſtorian, cotemporary with *Lewis VIII.* "from "the family of the *Charles*'s into that of the "Counts of Paris, who were of Saxon origin." *Regnum tranſlatum eſt de genealogiâ Carolorum in progeniem comitum Pariſienſium*, *qui de genere Saxonum proceſſerunt*. Anonym. de geſt. *Ludovic. VIII.* *Alberic*, who wrote about the year 1240, and who ſeems to have been very ſolicitous in tracing and pointing out antient genealogies, alſo makes *Robert* the Strong deſcend from *Vitikint*.

* He might be born about the year 790, and might at this time be aged 63 years, and his ſon *Robert* the Strong 43.

To theſe authorities, I ſhall ſubjoin ſome reflections, which appear to me neceſſary, but which no one has hitherto made.

In *Pontus-Heuterus*'s * Etymologies of German names we find that *Robert* was a German name.

Robert was not a name known in France under the firſt and ſecond Race, till the Reign of *Charles* the Bald; whereas in Germany we find a *Robert* Chief of the Germans, who entered into a League with *Dagobert I.* and who beat the Sclavonians in 630. Vide *Geſta Dagoberti* I. Lib. I. Cap. 27. & *Rerum Gallicarum Script.* Tom. II. p. 587.

Another *Robert*, born at Worms, a cotemporary with *Charles Martel*, and who is ſtiled Prince † of the Blood-Royal, was Biſhop of that City, preached the Goſpel in Germany, converted *Theodon*, Duke of Bavaria, and founded a Monaſtery at Jevane, now Saltzburg. *Mabillon Act. Sanct.*

No

* *Ponti-Heuteri*, in Etym. verb. Germ. pag. 228.

† *Clovis* united all the tribes of the *Franks* under his dominion, after having maſſacred the Kings of theſe different tribes (the Salians, the Sicambri, the Catti, the Ripuarii, &c.) who were all of the ſame family. Some of the ſons, brothers, and nephews of theſe unfortunate Kings, took refuge in their antient Country, with the Kings of the Suevi and Saxons, their relations.

No doubt ſeveral of the Anceſtors of *Robert* the Strong bore the name of *Robert*, and it was a common name in his family, like that of *Charles* or *Pepin* in the Houſe of *Charlemain*. Let us conſider at the ſame time, that his Anceſtors muſt neceſſarily have been great Lords; now, how could it happen that no mention is made of any of theſe *Roberts* under the firſt Race and at the beginning of the ſecond, if France had been their native Country, and they had reſided there?

If it is ſaid that *Robert* the Strong was the firſt of his family who bore the name of *Robert*, I aſk why did he take a foreign name, a name that was not national, if I may uſe this term?

It is ſaid, that *Vitikint* the Younger aſſumed the name of *Robert* at his Baptiſm; and I obſerve that the Saxon and Daniſh Lords who were baptiſed in France at that time, uſually took that name. Is it not likely that it was in veneration of that Saint *Robert* who was ſtiled a Prince, who preached Chriſtianity in their Country, and whoſe memory was quite recent amongſt them?

It ſeems King *Eudes*, *Robert* his brother, and their father *Robert* the Strong, were all born in the Territories of Neuſtria, which *Charlemain* had given, as is ſaid, to *Vitikint* the Younger. *Abbon* in his Poem, which was written upon *Eudes*'s being elected King, ſays, that *Neuſtria felici-*

felicitates and honours itſelf for having ſeen him born; and in another paſſage, he adds with the emphaſis and flattery of a Poet, and of a Neuſtrian Poet too, *that Neuſtria is the nobleſt Country in the Univerſe, having carried ſuch mighty Lords in her boſom:* Genitrix procerum vaſtè dominantum.

M. *le Gendre de St. Aubin* has written an ample Diſſertation, to prove that *Robert* the Strong deſcended from *Childebrand*, King of the Lombards, who took refuge in France, when he was dethroned by *Rachis* in 744. He founds his opinion upon a paſſage of *Helgaud*, where it is ſaid, that King *Robert*, ſon to *Hugh Capet*, humbly ſaid (*humillimis afferebat verbis*) that he was of Italian extraction. In the firſt place, this paſſage of *Helgaud* is very apocryphal. Secondly, it would contradict the opinion that M. *le Gendre* means to eſtabliſh; for what humility would there have been in King *Robert*'s acknowledging that he was deſcended from a King of Lombardy? Thirdly, M. *le Gendre*, to ſupport his opinion, is obliged to tranſlate *Germanus* by brother-in-law; now *Germanus* has never been uſed by any Author to ſignify aught but *brother*, and not *brother-in-law*. Some other Genealogiſts do not make *Robert* the Strong to deſcend from *Childebrand*, King of Lombardy, but from *Childebrand*, brother to *Charles Martel*, and grand-uncle

cle to *Charlemain.* There is no more authority for this opinion than the former, and it has been refuted by very cogent reaſons, which I ſhall not repeat. I ſhall content myſelf with obſerving, that the third Race would not have been mentioned, as it would have been only the ſame; and *Foulques*, Archbiſhop of Rheims, and the principal Members of the Aſſembly where the Election of King *Eudes* was debated, could not have talked in the manner they did; *We cannot conſent*, ſaid they, *to his Election, becauſe he is a ſtranger to the family of Charlemain:* ab ſtirpe Regia exiſtens alienus. *Foulques* wrote to this purpoſe, even to the Emperor *Arnold*, who intereſted himſelf for *Eudes*, and it is certain this Emperor could not be impoſed upon with reſpect to Princes who were or were not of the family of *Charlemain.* Let us ſay at the ſame time, that it is not likely, that the Lords who declared themſelves in favour of *Eudes*, in this Aſſembly, would have dared to have made the propoſal of offering him the Crown, if his origin had not been known, and that he ſprung from the ſame ſtock * as *Pharamond*, *Clodion*, *Merouée*, theſe firſt

* It is certain, that our Kings of the firſt Race were of the ſame family as the Kings of the Suevi and Saxons. *Eudes* deſcended, by *Vitikint*, from the Kings of the Suevi and Saxons.

firſt Chiefs, who conducted the French to the Conqueſt of Gaul.

It ſeems moreover, that Heaven by its Decrees relative to the two different Poſterities, was willing they ſhould be diſtinguiſhed as two diſtinct families. That of *Robert* the Strong (without reckoning *Eudes* and his brother *Robert* amongſt our Kings) enjoyed the Crown from male heir to male heir, for near 800 * years, an unparallelled Epocha in the Hiſtory of Monarchies. *Charlemain*'s Poſterity were extinct in Germany and Italy, at the third Generation, and none of his Deſcendants who reigned in France, died a natural death. I am ſurpriſed that this Remark has eſcaped all Hiſtorians.

† Chagrin and inanition terminated the days of the deplorable *Lewis le Debonnaire*, in a ſmall Iſland upon the Rhine.

Charles the Bald died in a Cottage, at the foot of Mount Cenis, poiſoned by the Jew *Sedecias*, his Phyſician. The children he had by his ſecond wife, died in non-age. By the firſt he had *Lewis*, *Charles*, *Lothario*, *Carloman* and *Judith*. He had cauſed *Carloman*'s eyes to be put out. *Lewis* §, ſurnamed the Stammerer, ſucceeded him,

* *Hugh Capet* was crowned in 987.

† Annales de *Bertin*.

§ Vide *Le Gendre*.

him, and was alſo poiſoned. *Charles*, King of Aquitaine, returning one night from hunting in the foreſt of Guiſe, near Compiegne, and wanting to frighten a Lord named *Albuin*; that Nobleman not knowing the King, gave him ſuch violent blows upon the head, that he never recovered. *Judith* let herſelf be carried off by the *Foreſter* of Flanders.

Lewis III. who ſucceeded *Lewis* the Stammerer, running after the daughter of one *Germond*, a Tradeſman of Tours *, whoſe beauty had ſtruck him, and who made her eſcape from him by getting into a houſe, had his back broke, either by his horſe running away with him, or by endeavouring to force him through the door which was too low.

† *Carloman II.* his brother, was wounded by the careleſsneſs of one of his own people, named *Bertold*, when hunting in the foreſt of *Baizieu* §, and died the ſeventh day after. He had the generoſity to ſay he had been wounded by a boar, leſt this unhandy ſervant might have been puniſhed after his death.

Charles the Fat collected all the Succeſſion of *Charlemain*. He made ſo ſhameful a Treaty with

* Vide the Monk *de St. Vaaſt.*

† Idem.

§ Situated about 5 or 6 leagues from Amiens.

with the Normans, and his puerile devotion rendered him in other reſpects ſo contemptible, that he was depoſed. This Monarch who ſome days before had commanded ſo many Millions, was abandoned to that degree, that he had not a ſingle footman left to ſerve him. *He ſent to aſk bread*, ſay the Hiſtorians, *of the Archbiſhop of Mentz.* The baſtard *Arnold*, his nephew, who had been elected in his place, made him an aſſignment for his ſubſiſtence, of the village of Nidenguen, where he was ſecretly ſtrangled at the end of a few months.

Charles the Simple, being betrayed by *Herbert*, Count of Vermandois, ended his days in grief and deſpair, impriſoned at Peronne.

* *Lewis IV.* ſurnamed d'*Outremer*, as he was purſuing a wolf upon the road to Rheims, fell from his horſe, and died of the bruiſes he received by his fall.

Lotharius and his ſon *Lewis V.* the two laſt Kings of that Race, were poiſoned by their wives, who were very gay Princeſſes, and with whom they lived upon very bad terms.

Charles, Duke of Lower † Lorraine, brother to *Lotharius*, and the laſt of the Blood of *Charlemain*,

* *Duch.* p. 632. Vol. II.

† The Dutchy of Lower Lorraine comprehended Brabant, Luxem-

main, died in priſon in the large Tower of Orleans, in 993. He left three ſons, (*Otho* *, *Lewis* and *Charles*,) who died young and without iſſue. His two daughters (*Hermengarde* and *Gerberge*) married, the firſt with *Albert*, Count of Namur, and the other with *Lambert*, Count of Hainaut.

Continuation of the Manners and Cuſtoms under the ſecond Race.

Charlemain gloried in being originally a *Frank*. He always dreſſed according to the French faſhion, that is to ſay, with a ſhort ‡ cloſe coat. He looked with indignation upon ſuch Frenchmen as he met habited in long robes, like the Gauls: *See there our Franks*, would he cry, *behold our free men, who take the dreſs of the people*

Luxemburg, the County of Liege, Gueldres, Cleves, Juliers, and others, towards the mouths of the Rhine, the Meuſe and the Scheld.

* *Otho* died in 1006, after having reigned about 13 years over Lower-Lorraine. His brothers muſt have died before him, as his ſiſters laid claim to this Dutchy, and declared war againſt *Godfrey d'Ardenne*, to whom the Emperor had given it, in default of male iſſue; by an accommodation which they entered into, they obtained Lands in the neighbourhood, and a conſiderable ſum, payable at different terms.

‡ *Eginh.* de vitâ *Caroli Magni.*

people they have ſubdued; what a ſhame, what a bad omen § *!*

He ſealed the Treaties he made with the pummel of his ſword, where there was probably a ſignet: *I will maintain them*, ſaid he, *with the point.*

Every body knows that he was very fond of women; but every body does not know he met with a cruel one, whoſe name was *Sainte Amalberge:* he purſued her; ſhe fell down in flying from one room to another, and broke her arm.

In a paper wherein he kept a private account of the things he intended to propoſe to the Parliament of 811, one may obſerve the difference betwixt the Eccleſiaſtics of thoſe times and the preſent *. "I will aſk the Church-"men," ſays he, "what the Apoſtle means, when "he intimates that *none of thoſe who are deſign-"ed for the ſervice of God, ſhould interfere with "temporal affairs.* I want them to explain to "me what they underſtand, when they ſay "they have quitted the world, and whether they "are to be diſtinguiſhed from Seculars by any "thing but celibacy. I deſire likewiſe to know, "if they believe that he has really quitted the "world,

§ *Aventin.* Lib. IV. *nota Sominckii.*

* Hiſt. de France, par *Cordemoi*, Tom. I.^e p. 640.

" world, who thinks of nothing but increaſing " his riches by every poſſible means; whoſe " only ſtudy it is to perſuade the ſimple, that " eternal happineſs depends upon the good that " one does to their Church; and who makes " uſe of the ſacred name of God, or that of " ſome of his Saints, to induce a poor ignorant " teſtator to wrong his lawful heirs, and thereby " expoſe them to become guilty of all the crimes " that are incidental to poverty."

Paſcal III. who gave *Charlemain* a place amongſt the Saints, not being looked upon as a legal Pontiff, this canonization was not unanimouſly adopted. *Alexander III.* having come to a reconciliation with *Frederic I.* the canonization was approved, as being ſollicited by that Emperor.

I have already obſerved that *Charles* the Bald cauſed the eyes of his ſon *Carloman* to be put out. *Lewis le Debonnaire* had the ſame thing done to his nephew, the young *Bernard*, King of Italy. Mutilations became ſo frequent, that Vaſſals, in their oaths of fidelity, ſwore, *that they would defend the perſon of their Lord, and not conſent that he ſhould be maimed in any part of his body.* The Abbés, inſtead of inflicting canonical pains upon their Monks, ordered an ear, an arm, or a leg to be cut off.

In

In 793. there was a great famine. All the ears of corn were found empty, and ſeveral Demons * were heard in the air, declaring that they had devoured the crop, becauſe the tythes were not paid to the Clergy. It was ordered, that for the future the tythes ſhould be paid. It is very extraordinary, that the Devils ſhould intereſt themſelves ſo ſtrongly in favour of our Clergy.

The Latin language was the vulgar tongue, or that which every body ſpoke, under the firſt Race. It is believed that it began to be no longer vulgar, in the beginning of the Reign of *Lewis le Debonnaire.* It is certain that at the Council of Arles, in 851, under the Reign of *Charles* the Bald, the Clergy were ordered *to make their Inſtructions and Homelies in the Romance tongue, that every one might underſtand them.* The Romance tongue was a corrupt mixture of the Celtic and Latin, into which ſeveral Tudeſque terms and expreſſions were introduced, after the Francs had eſtabliſhed themſelves in Gaul. The Tudeſque was a corrupt Celtic, and the language of the Franks, the Celtic having anciently been the mother-tongue of all the Weſt. The Romance language has ſince become the French language.

The

* Vide the Capitularies, anno 774. Art. 23.

The *Lord* put a ſod into the hand of the perſon whom he inveſted with an Eſtate, who thereupon became his Vaſſal. In the Parliament, or general Aſſembly of the Nation, in the month of May 922, the greateſt part of the Grandees of the Kingdom, being diſcontented with *Charles* the Simple, declared they would have him no longer for their Lord, and ſignified that *they renounced their faith and homage to him, by breaking and throwing upon the ground bits of ſtraw, which they held in their hands.*

It ſeems there were in thoſe times methods of acquiring reputation, and even ſometimes of making a fortune, in an inſtant. Women accuſed of adultery, were allowed to juſtify themſelves *by the trial of duel*, that is, by preſenting to the Judges a *Champion* of noble rank, who offered to compel the accuſer in the Liſts to deny what he had advanced. The vanquiſhed, dead or alive, was dragged upon a hurdle, and hung up by the feet; the woman was juſtified or puniſhed. In the Reign of *Lewis* the Stammerer, the Counteſs of *Gaſtinois* was accuſed of having poiſoned her huſband; the circumſtances were ſo ſtrong againſt her, and *Gontran*, her accuſer, and couſin-german to her huſband, paſſed for ſuch a redoubted warrior, that ſhe found herſelf deſerted by all her relations and friends. *Ingelger*,

a young man of about 17 or 18, the ſon of one *Torquat*, a Gentleman of Britanny, offered himſelf to prove ſhe was innocent. The * Judges ordered the combat; he ſlew *Gontran*; the Counteſs, by the advice and conſent of her Barons and Vaſſals, made him her heir. The Archbiſhop of Tours gave him in marriage the beautiful *Andelinda*, his niece, with the Caſtles of Amboiſe, Buzençay and Chatillon; he was the ſtock of the Counts of Anjou, who mounted the Throne of England.

The proprietors of the Caſtles which had been built on every ſide to prevent the incurſions of the *Normans*, became in the end almoſt as fatal a ſcourge, as theſe Pirates themſelves had been. From the tops of their Fortreſſes they flew down upon every thing that preſented itſelf in the valley; obliged travellers to give ranſom, pillaged traders, and carried off women if they were handſome: one would have ſaid, robberies, rapes, and outrages, were become the rights of the Lord. *On the other hand*, ſays *Mezerai*, *true courage and courteſey were not ſo ſtifled, but that there were to be found Gentlemen, generous enough to make Laws and Statutes, whereby they engaged to traverſe the Provinces, and to attack and deſtroy theſe petty Tyrants*; *hence*, adds he, *Romance-*

* Vid. *Geſt. Andeg.*

mance-writers have forged their Knights Errant, and all their monſters and giants.

Women and Girls were not a whit more ſecure in paſſing by Abbeys, where the Monks would ſtand an aſſault, rather than give up their prey. If they found themſelves too much preſſed, they brought out the relicks of ſome Saints, and exhibited them upon the breach; then it almoſt always happened that the aſſailants ſeized with reſpect, retired without daring to purſue their revenge. This is the origin of thoſe enchanters, enchantments, and enchanted Caſtles, which are ſo much talked of in the ſame Romance-writers.

Queen *Adélaide*, widow to *Lothario*, King of Italy, was one of the fineſt women of her time. *Berenger* wanting to force her to marry his ſon, beſieged her in Pavia, took that City, and afterwards ſhut her up in the Caſtle *de Garde*, leaving her only one of her women to wait upon her, and a Prieſt to ſay Maſs to her. She found means to eſcape out of priſon. The Archbiſhop of Reggio had offered her a retreat. She was obliged to travel on foot, and by night too, hiding herſelf in the day-time amongſt the corn, whilſt her Almoner went thro' the villages, in ſearch of proviſion. Another Prieſt met her, and made her diſhonourable propoſals which ſhe rejected with

great dignity. * *Well then*, (ſaid he to her) *give me up your maid at leaſt, or elſe I will go and diſcover you to* Berenger. *The Princeſs*, continues *Mezeray, ſubmitted to neceſſity, and the maid to her Miſtreſs.* A Caſuiſt has found out, that this adventure furniſhed matter for a caſe of concience, which he has treated with great ſagacity.

Manners, Uſages and Cuſtoms, till the Reign of Lewis XI.

The French who compleated the conqueſt of Gaul, were not ſufficiently numerous to occupy all the Lands. They only took the third part, which was divided into *Salique Lands*, *Military Benefices*, and the *King*'s *Domains*. The Salique Lands were ſuch as fell to the lot of every Frenchman, and conſequently were hereditary. The title of *Military Beneſices* was given to Lands which were not diſtributed, but which remained to the State; and theſe the Kings were to give as a recompence for life to ſuch as deſerved them by their actions, or by their long ſervices. Such conſiderable parts as the *Chief* ſhared in the general diviſion, were called the *King*'s *Domains*. Theſe *Domains* in different parts of the Realm, amounted to above 160, and

* Vol. I. pag. 688.

and compoſed the principal Revenue of our Kings of the firſt and ſecond Race. They were not country-houſes, with vaſt gardens embelliſhed by art; but they were good farms, and uſually in the middle of foreſts. Studs of horſes were kept at them, with oxen, cows, ſheep, and poultry in abundance. The King travelled all the year round from one of theſe Domains to another. It might be ſaid, that he lived upon his Lands, and the proviſions which he did not conſume, were diſpoſed of for his benefit. *Charlemain*, in one of his Capitularies, (*de Villis*, art. 39.) orders the poultry of the lower-courts of his Domains, and the vegetables of his gardens, to be ſold. A Financier who now ſpends at leaſt ten thouſand crowns a year for the pot-herbs of his country-houſe, would be offended if one were to ſay, Let him ſend the overplus of the greens and roots he don't uſe for himſelf and ſervants, to be ſold at market.

The French, in order to have hands to cultivate the country which they had taken poſſeſſion of, were not obliged to compel any of thoſe to ſervitude. Amongſt the Romans, and afterwards under the firſt, ſecond, and third Races, till the infranchiſement of the Bondſmen, what was called an Eſtate or Farm, was not only a certain number of acres and ſome buildings; it

alſo included cattle and ſlaves, which enhanced its value.

The Dukes, Counts, Vicars, and Centurions or Thungins, had the management of the Finances, and adminiſtered Juſtice in the Provinces, where they convened ſuch as * were to take the field, and aſſembled and conducted them to the general rendez-vous. There were alſo Lands annexed to theſe great and little Magiſtracies. The Judges were all military: by the Salique Law they were obliged to put their ſheild upon their arm, when they pronounced ſentence.

Towards the end of the Reign of *Charles* the Bald, the *Counts* and *Dukes* availing themſelves of the national troubles, began to convert their titles and commiſſions, which were at moſt only for life, into hereditary Dignities in their families. They made themſelves proprietary Lords of the Provinces and Cities, the government of which had been intruſted to them only for a time. Their example was preſently imitated by the greateſt part of thoſe who found themſelves inveſted with leſs conſiderable Magiſtracies, or with *Military Benefices*; and the occaſion they thought they had of each others aſſiſtance, to ſupport

* If a perſon did not arrive at the army by the day appointed, he was condemned to abſtain from wine and meat for as long a time, as he neglected his ſervice.

ſupport themſelves in their uſurpations, was the origin, according to moſt Civilians, of the fiefs * and rear-fiefs, that is to ſay, of that Convention, whereby he who had appropriated to himſelf only a Borough or a City, took an oath to him who had made himſelf maſter of a whole Province, to acknowledge him for his Lord, and to defend his perſon and eſtate, on condition that he on his ſide would protect and defend him, and never deny him juſtice.

The two laſt Kings of the ſecond Race were far from being the richeſt Lords of their Kingdom: they had nothing left for their whole Domain but the Cities of Laon, Soiſſons and Compiegne. By *Hugh Capet*'s acceſſion to the throne, the Crown was enriched with the County of Paris and the Dutchy § of France, of which his Anceſtors had alſo made themſelves Lords pro-

 prietors.

* The word *fief* is derived from the Latin word *fœdus* (alliance) becauſe the Lord and the Vaſſal tied themſelves reciprocally by the act of infeudation.

§ *Robert* the Strong was killed in a battle with the Normans in 867, in the village of Briſſerte in Anjou. *Charles* the Bald had in 863, given him the *Dutchy of France*. This Dutchy or Government, beſides conſiderable territories in Picardy and Champaigne, comprehended the City and County of Paris, Orleannois, the County of Chartrain, Perche, the County of Blois, Touraine and part of Anjou and Maine; ſo that the Counts and private Lords of theſe different Countries held their Eſtates of the Dutchy of France.

prietors. He confirmed the great and ſmall Vaſſals in the poſſeſſion and inheritance of their fiefs, that is, he let them enjoy the Cities, Lands, Poſts and Provinces which they had uſurped. The great Vaſſals were the Dukes of Burgundy and Normandy, the Counts of Flanders, and Champaigne, the Duke of Aquitaine and Gaſcony, the Count of Toulouſe, and the Count of Barcelona *. Theſe Provinces which were converted into fiefs, are now returned to their primitive ſtate of Provinces, being revertible to the Crown in caſe of felony, or in default of heirs.

Each of theſe great Vaſſals had all the rights of Sovereignty within his own fief, and when he was attacked or aggrieved, his Liege-Vaſſals § were obliged to follow him to war, even againſt the

* By the Charters collected by M. *de Marca*, it appears, that from the time of *Charles* the Bald, till the 16th year of the Reign of *Philip Auguſtus*, the Counts of *Barcelona* continued to date their acts by the years of the Reign of our Kings; which is a proof that they acknowledged them for their Sovereigns.

§ The Lords in making Grants of their own Lands, or of thoſe which they had uſurped, ſtipulated terms more or leſs burthenſome for thoſe to whom they gave theſe fiefs. The Liege-Vaſſal was obliged to ſerve his Lord againſt every one in perſon; whereas the free Vaſſal might ſubſtitute a man in his place, and was not compelled to ſuccour his Lord but upon certain occaſions.

the King †. If he was conquered, and if the Peers and other Grandees of the Kingdom aſſembled in Parliament, judged that he had been guilty of felony, that is to ſay, that he took up arms without lawful reaſons, the King might confiſcate his fief, but he could not be condemned to death. The cuſtom of obtaining nobility by a poſt, or purchaſing it with money, not being yet introduced, the blood of every nobleman appeared ſo ſacred, that it could not be ſpilt for any other crime than that of treaſon. The firſt grant of nobility is dated in the year 1271, in the Reign of *Philip* the Bold, ſon to St. *Lewis*.

There was a diſtinction made between the King's wars and the wars of the State, and conſequently the King's forces and thoſe of the State were very different. Thoſe were called the *King's wars*, which he waged againſt the great or ſmall Vaſſals; and he could not preſs any to ſerve in them, but the men of his own Lands and the Liege-Vaſſals of his Lordſhips. It coſt *Lewis* the Fat a war of three years continuance to ſubdue *Bouchard de Montmorenci* *, and two or three other Lords, at about ten or twelve leagues from Paris; whereas the ſame Prince

† The King even to this day, is pleaſed to allow pleading againſt himſelf. It was a privilege allowed at that time.

* His ſon *Matthew* married the Widow of *Lewis* the Fat.

appeared at the head of above 20,000 men, when he was to march againſt the Emperor *Henry V.* who advanced towards Rheims, and flew back with ſuch terror and precipitation, that he did not ſtop till after he had repaſſed the Moſelle and the Rhine. The King of England, who was at the ſame time Duke of Normandy, had inſtigated this irruption of the Germans. *Lewis* the Fat endeavoured to engage the Lords and Barons to follow him, to make the conqueſt of Normandy, but they all excuſed themſelves, and returned home with the reſpective contingents of men they had brought along with them: We came, ſaid they, to defend our common Country which was threatened by a foreign power, but we are not obliged to concur in diſpoſſeſſing the Duke of Normandy, a Vaſſal of the Crown, and conſequently one of the Members of the Monarchy. Their uſual policy was to wiſh the State powerful, but not that the King ſhould become ſo great as to be able to humble and debaſe them.

The Feudal Laws, ſays M. *de Monteſquieu*, *preſent a very beautiful proſpect. An antient oak* * *liſts*

* L'Eſprit des Loix, Tom. II. p. 414.

Some Authors whom M. *de Monteſquieu* has followed without reflexion, pretend that *Military Benefices* was given upon

lifts its head to heaven; the eye deſcries from afar its ſpreading foliage; it approaches nearer, and ſees the trunk; but it does not perceive the root; the earth muſt be dug up before that is diſcovered. As to me, I ſhould ſay, that the Feudal Government degenerates almoſt always into anarchy; an antient oak (the *Royalty*) is weakened; its large branches (*the great Vaſſals*) ſuck away the ſap and the ſubſtance. The ſtate of the Nation from the time of Clovis to the Reign of *Charles* the Bald, was a noble ſpectacle; a Frenchman was only his Country's Vaſſal; he acknowledged no intermediate power between the King and himſelf; his Chiefs were his equals; and when he marched under them, it was only in obedience to the voice of his King. From the time of *Charles* the Bald, to the Reign of *Lewis XI.* France divided under ſo many petty Sovereigns, who continually united againſt the Royal

upon condition, that thoſe who received them ſhould be always ready to march out to war; that conſequently they were Fiefs, and therefore the origin of Fiefs was as ancient as the Monarchy. Theſe Authors are miſtaken, ſince it is not to be doubted that every Frenchman after he had arrived at a certain age, was obliged to ſerve, and therefore it was not natural that any one ſhould receive a gratification for performing an indiſpenſible duty preſcribed by a general rule. *Military Benefices* were not obtained, as I have obſerved, but as a recompence for long ſervices.

authority, and frequently allied with the Engliſh, was a ſhocking ſpectacle.

The ſpirit of independency was general; every one arrogated to himſelf *the right of war*; City took up arms againſt City, Pariſh againſt Pariſh, Abbey againſt Abbey, and one family againſt another; relations beyond the fourth degree, were not obliged to take part in theſe quarrels, but they might interpoſe as friends or allies. From time to time ſome remedies were attempted to be applied to theſe diſorders. It was prohibited to commit any act of hoſtility during Advent, Chriſtmas, Lent, Eaſter and Whitſuntide, as it was alſo to wait for one's enemy near a Church, and to attack him when going to Maſs, or at any time from Thurſday night till break of day on Monday morning. *Philip* the Fair wanted, in 1311, to aboliſh theſe civil wars entirely. The Nobility to ſupport what they looked upon as one of their privileges, revolted; and *Lewis Hutin*, his Succeſſor, was obliged in 1315, to tolerate them, *whilſt the nation was at peace with foreign powers.* We read in the Book of Remonſtrances of the Province of Picardy, art. 6. *The Nobles deſire that they may uſe arms at pleaſure as formerly, and that they may have the privilege of making war and tilting.* "Agreed to by the King, as to "the

" the right of arms and war, as they were prac-
" tiſed in time paſt. Art. 25. The King alſo
" grants duelling and gage of battle, in caſes of
" crimes which cannot be proved by witneſſes."
Lewis the Young, in 1168, had ordered that duelling ſhould not take place for a debt that did not exceed five ſols. *Philip* the Fair prohibited it in all civil affairs.

I knew a man fond of paradoxes, who was fooliſh enough to maintain, that there was really leſs injuſtice done, and that property was much better ſecured at that time than now. He ſaid that the Lawyers and Clergy wearing no ſwords, are not ſo polite amongſt themſelves as military men; that an inſult would not be ſo ſlightly paſſed over, if the affair could be brought to an iſſue in the *Champclos* (or Liſts); and moreover, that the relations of a man who wanted to encroach upon his neighbour, were intereſted in diſſuading him from it, as both families were obliged to engage in theſe little wars: I agree, ſubjoined he, that each other's vines were torn up, their barns were ſet on fire, crops deſtroyed, and that a father was compelled to be an eye witneſs of his children's being put to death; whereas now they are at moſt only reduced to beggary, when their father has been ruined by the quirks of an Attorney, the intrigues of a Se-

cretary, or the avarice of the Reporter of a Caſe, who has purchaſed the right of deciding cauſes and of making the parties feel the effects of his delays, caprice, and inſolence.

Sequel of the Manners, Uſages and Cuſtoms, till the Reign of Lewis XI.

It ſeems the ſuperior Clergy of that time, like thoſe of the preſent, were endowed with the virtue of continence. This was not the caſe with the Cannons and Curates; the greater part of them married, and flattered themſelves that by certain ſpecious reaſonings they ſhould dazzle the policy of the Monarch and his Nobles. In liſtening to them, one would imagine that marriage was neceſſary to make a Prieſt a Citizen, and to attach him to the State; that the hopes of obtaining favour and protection for his children, made him not only leſs enterprizing and bold, but more humble and circumſpect towards the Magiſtrates, and that the Court of Rome in condemning the Clergy to celibacy, had no other deſign than to form in every Kingdom, a ſeparate body, always ready to riſe againſt the temporal power, and to acknowledge no other than the Pope for their Sovereign. Such Diſcourſes could not fail to enrage the Holy See

and

and its Legates. Pope *Calixtus II.* in the Council of Rheims held in the year 1119, excommunicated all the married Clergy, deprived them of their livings, prohibited hearing Maſs performed by them, pronounced their children baſtards, and thought it neceſſary to extend his rigour even to theſe innocent beings, ſo far as to give them up a prey to the avarice of the Lords; he allowed them to be reduced to a ſtate of ſervitude and ſold. I ſhould imagine that a very curious hiſtory might be compiled of the different revolutions in men's manner of thinking upon the moſt ſimple and natural things. The Laws of Moſes, according to all the Rabbins, excluded from the Congregation of Iſrael, all thoſe who were not married at a certain age. By the Roman Laws, the unmarried were neither allowed to make a will, nor to give evidence. *Have you a wife?* * was the firſt queſtion put by the Cenſor, when a perſon appeared to make oath. Gladiators, Wreſtlers, Muſicians, Dancers, and Dyers in purple and other lively colours, as they uſually had no wives, were looked upon with a kind of horror by the pagan Theologiſts. *You are fearful*, ſaid they, *of impairing your ſtrength, your agility, your voice, or your ſight, and you loſe your ſoul; it is betraying nature to go out of the world with-*

* *Cicero de Legibus.*

without having endeavoured to leave children behind you; you are impious wretches whom the demons wait for to torture cruelly at the bottom of Hell. The Laws of *Lycurgus** were not leſs rigorous againſt thoſe who obſtinately perſevered in a life of celibacy: they were excluded from civil and military employments; they were even expoſed every year to a ceremony which was very far from being agreeable; the Lacedemonian women repaired to their place of reſidence, the firſt day of Spring, and conducted them from thence to the Temple of Juno, rallying them all the way, and when they were arrived at the pedeſtal of the ſtatue of that Goddeſs, they gave them a hearty flogging.

The excommunication of the married Clergy was more effectual, than that which was pronounced the year following by the Biſhop of Laon, againſt the catterpillars and field-mice which had done much damage to the corn. Is it to be credited, that in the Reign of *Francis I.* theſe vermin were even allowed Counſel, and their cauſe and the farmer's oppoſitely pleaded?† I could quote ſeveral teſtimonies, but I ſhall reſt the proof of this matter upon the ſentence of the Official of Troyes in Champaigne, of the 9th of *July*,

* *Plutarch.* in *Lycurg.* & in *Apophthegm, Athen.* Lib. XIII.

† *Theophilus Rainauld.*

July, 1516: *The Parties heard, upon the rights of the petition of the inhabitants of Villenoce, we admoniſh the Caterpillars to retire in ſix days, in failure whereof we declare them damned and excommunicated.*

Excommunications have been in uſe amongſt almoſt every people. The Atlantes, being incommoded by the exceſſive heat of the Sun, paid a Prieſt to excommunicate him every morning. To be driven from the Synagogue, was the greateſt penalty amongſt the Jews. *Cæſar*, talking of the Gauls (de Bell. Gall. Lib. VI.) ſays, that the Druids decided all cauſes; that whoever refuſed to ſubmit to their ſentences, they interdicted him the ſacrifices; that thoſe who were ſo interdicted, were looked upon as impious and abandoned; that they were neither allowed to plead nor give evidence in judiciary matters, and that all the world ſhunned them, leſt fellowſhip and converſation with them ſhould be the occaſion of ſome particular misfortune: *Ne quid ex contagione incommodi accipiant.* We read in *Plutarch* *, that the Prieſteſs *Theano* being importuned by the Athenian Senate, to pronounce maledictions againſt *Alcibiades*, who was accuſed of having mutilitated ſome ſtatues of *Mercury*, as he returned from a nocturnal debauch, excuſed

* Vita *Alcibiad.*

cuſed herſelf by ſaying, *She was a Miniſter of the Gods, to pray and bleſs, but not to imprecate and curſe.* *Philip Auguſtus*, wanting to divorce *Ingelburge*, in order to marry *Agnes de Meranie*, the Pope laid the Kingdom under an interdiction; the Churches were ſhut up for near eight months; neither Maſs nor Veſpers were any longer ſaid; no marriages were celebrated; *even the works of matrimony were unlawful*; no man was allowed to lie with his wife, becauſe the King would not lie with his, and the common courſe of generation muſt have ſtopt ſhort this year in France.

A man who performed a publick penance, was ſuſpended from all functions, civil, military, and matrimonial. He was neither to have his hair dreſſed, nor his beard trimmed, nor was he allowed to bath, or change his linnen: this could not fail in the end to make a very naſty Penitent. The good King *Robert* incurred the cenſures of the Church, for having married his couſin; there remained only two of his ſervants with him; they paſſed every thing through the fire that he had touched. In a word, an excommunicated perſon was looked upon in ſuch a horrible light, that a woman of pleaſure, with whom *Eudes le Pelletier* had paſſed a few moments, having learnt ſome days after, that he had been ſix months under the ſentence of excom-

communication, ſhe was ſeized in ſuch a manner that ſhe fell into convulſions, and her life was in danger: ſhe was cured however, by the interceſſion of a holy Deacon.

If a perſon had any civil matter to ſettle with the Clergy, and if they were ſummoned before a ſecular Judge, they immediately excommunicated the party and the ſecular Judge who dared to cite them before his Tribunal. They held forth at the ſame time in their ſermons, that it was allowable to take away the effects of an excommunicated perſon, till ſuch time as he was abſolved; and this abſolution was not purchaſed at an eaſy rate. Theſe attacks upon ſociety were ſo much the more dangerous, as it was the opinion of the Clergy, that the Royal authority ſhould aſſiſt in the execution of their Cenſures, whilſt they would not even have the King to examine whether they were juſtly and legally pronounced. *Joinville* relates, *that the Prelates of France repreſented to St. Lewis, that he was letting Chriſtianity go to ruin. How ſo, ſaid that great King? Becauſe, replied they, nobody is any longer ſollicitous whether he is abſolved from excommunication, or not; therefore, Sire, order your Judges to compel every man who ſhall be excommunicated, to obtain an abſolution within a year and a day. With all my heart, anſwered St. Lewis,*

provided

provided the Judges find the excommunication juſt. The Biſhops pretended that Laymen were not to determine whether their Cenſures were juſt or unjuſt. St. Lewis declared he never would order it otherwiſe, as he thought he ſhould thereby be guilty of great injuſtice to himſelf.

Bondmen.

The following Charter will point out the ſtate of the *Serfs*, or Bondmen, in France. "Know, all men by theſe preſents, that we "*William*, unworthy Biſhop of Paris, conſent "that *Odelina*, daughter of *Rodolphus Gaudin*, "of the village of *Ceres* *, a bond-woman of "our church, wed *Bertrand*, ſon to the late "*Hugon*, of the village of Verrieres, a bondman "of the Abbey of St. Germain des prez; on "condition that the children which ſhall iſſue "from the ſaid marriage, ſhall be divided bet-"ween us and the ſaid Abbey; and that if the "ſaid *Odelina* die without iſſue, all her move-"able and immoveable goods and chattels ſhall "revert to us; in the ſame manner as all the "goods and chattels moveable and immoveable of

* Vuiſſons, *Villa Cereris*, a village where there was formerly a Temple dedicated to *Ceres*. This village is three Leagues from Paris, towards Antoni.

" of the ſaid *Bertrand*, ſhall rever to the ſaid " Abbey, in caſe he dies without children. " Given in the year twelve-hundred and ſixty- " two."

As ſome children have better conſtitutions, are better made, or have more ſenſe than others, the Lords uſed to caſt lots for them. If there was but one child, it belonged to the mother, and conſequently to her Lord; if there were three, ſhe had two, and in caſe of five ſhe had three, and ſo on in proportion. Theſe bondmen, theſe *hommes de corps*, theſe *gens de poeſte* *, for ſo they were called, compoſed two thirds and a half of the inhabitants of the Kingdom. They could not diſpoſe of themſelves, marry out of their Lords eſtate, nor quit it without his leave; he was to give them away, to ſell them, exchange them, and to claim them wherever they were, even if they had determined to enter themſelves of the Church. § The Abbot of St. Denis was taken, in 858, by the Normans; he was ranſomed for 685 livres of gold, and 3250 livres of ſilver, beſides horſes, oxen, *and ſeveral bondmen of his Abbey, with their wives and children.* A poor Gentleman appeared one day, with

* *Gentes de corpore & poteſtatis.*

§ Annal. Bened. Tom. III. L. XXXV. Num. 33.

with two daughters he had, before *Henry*, ſurnamed the Broad, Count of Champaign, and intreated him to give him ſomething to enable him to marry them. *Artaud*, this Prince's Intendant, who had become rich, arrogant, and obdurate, as all Intendants are, attacked the Gentleman, telling him his maſter had given ſo much away, that he had nothing more to give: *Thou lieſt, villain*, ſays the Count, *I have not yet given thee away; thou art ſtill mine: Take him*, adds he, addreſſing himſelf to the Gentleman, *I give him to you, and I inſure him to you.* The Gentleman laid hold of his *Artaud*, carried him off, and did not releaſe him till he had paid him 500 livres, for his daughters marriage portions.

The *Serfs* of the ſame eſtate, being obliged to marry amongſt themſelves, muſt have been therefore, more inclined to aſſiſt each other in time of ſickneſs, and during the infirmities of old age; and as they could not go beyond the limits of this eſtate, vagabonds and idle people were ſcarce ever ſeen at that time in France; they were moreover excited to work by a deſire of encreaſing their *peculium* §, and by the hopes

* Vide *Mezeray*, Vol. II. p. 230.

§ *Peculium* is the amount of the labour, induſtry and ſaving of a perſon in the power of another, which the bondman is at liberty to diſpoſe of.

hopes of being one day able to purchaſe their freedom. The freemen, the enfranchiſed people and the bondmen, who reſided in the Cities, cultivated the arts and ſciences, carried on trade, or worked at the Manufactures.

Lewis the Fat, was the firſt of her Kings who began to enfranchiſe bondmen, in the Cities and large Boroughs of his Domain, that is to ſay, they were no longer *tied* to the place of their nativity (*Addicti globæ*) but were allowed to ſettle where ever they thought proper. By degrees the greater part of the Lords, that they might the better equip themſelves during the rage of the Croiſades, or ruined perhaps, by thoſe wars beyond ſea, alſo enfranchiſed their ſubjects on paying large ſums, which they drew from them. Liberty, if we may credit the Hiſtorians, ſerved only to give the greateſt part of theſe new freemen a diſtaſte to work, to render them inſolent and lazy, and to convert them into vagabonds and thieves.

It was at this period that the four orders of Mendicants (the Dominicans, the Cordeliers, the Carmelites, and the Auguſtins) began to be formed and eſtabliſhed.

Mar-

Marriages.

The deſire of being married and having children, was probably looked upon as leſs honourable than that of killing a man. We have ſeen in the firſt Volume, that in the houſes of the Biſhops and Abbots, and in the Cloiſters of the Chapters of Notre-Dame, St. Merri, and others, there was a Court allotted * for duelling. They allowed duels even between couſins-german, whilſt they anathematized, and annulled marriages between relations, not only in the fourth, but even to the ſeventh degree. Abſolution and the Communion were adminiſtred to two men who had aſked to fight a duel, and who were going to cut each other's throats, whilſt a huſband and his wife were not to be admitted to the Sacraments till after an abſtinence from conjugal duty, for at leaſt eight days. The Biſhops, Abbots, and other eccleſiaſtical Lords, enfranchiſed ſuch Champion as had fought for them three times with ſucceſs, that is to ſay, who had killed or knocked three men on the head, whilſt in their ſermons they endeavoured to brand with infamy thoſe who even married three different times. A Prieſt having wore ſome favours upon his ſleeve, at his brother's wedding,

* *Vide* Le vrai Théatre d'Honneur, par la *Colombiere*. p. 204.

wedding, was ſuſpended for ſix months by his Biſhop, whilſt at the duel of *Jarnac*, and *de la Chataigneraye*, the relations of each Champion, whether Laymen or Eccleſiaſtics wore diſtinguiſhed by cockades and ribbons of different colours. *Jarnac*'s partiſans wore black, and thoſe of *Chataigneraye* had grey and blue cockades.

The prohibition of marriages between relations, as far as the ſeventh degree of kindred, muſt have been extremely embarraſſing; if it is true, that according to the rule of redoubled multiplication, thirty-two thouſand perſons have contributed to the production of a ſingle one, without going any farther back, than to the fifteenth degree of his genealogy.

Lewis XIV. who was convinced that the ſtrength and advantages of Monarchy conſiſt in the multiplicity of its ſubjects, aſſigned in 1666, a penſion of 2000 livres, from the public treaſury, to ſuch Noblemen as ſhould have twelve children, who did not become Eccleſiaſtics; and as to Plebeians, who ſhould have the ſame number of children, who likewiſe did not become Eccleſiaſtics, he ordered them to be exempted from all Taxes, Impoſts, and quartering of ſoldiers. This wiſe regulation was not put in execution: neither have thoſe been executed which were ſo frequently renewed by our Kings of the

the firſt, ſecond, and third Race, *not to receive any perſon into religious Orders, before he or ſhe had attained to the age of twenty-five years.* This grieves every good Citizen; but in France, when ſuch a one has a mind to conſider and reflect, he will often find himſelf under the neceſſity of either grieving or laughing. For inſtance, is it not pleaſant to ſee religious Communities fed and pampered, juſt as if they were particular bodies in the State, ſet apart for the purpoſe of population? It is not to be queſtioned, that the oily ſubſtance of fiſh is more proper for this buſineſs, than that of meat, and that in an Iſland where the Inhabitants fed upon nothing but fiſh, a ninth part more children would be born, than in an Iſland where nothing was eaten but meat.

In the firſt ages of the Church, it was called a *work of mercy*, when a man married a girl who had lived a diſorderly life.

I ſhall diſmiſs this article upon marriages, with a reflexion that ſhould not ſeem foreign to the ſubject. Why ſhould it be cuſtomary to deſpiſe a cuckold, when his being ſo is not his own fault? I believe I have found out the reaſon: it is becauſe this ſituation particularly denoted a man of mean condition, as we find * ſeveral Lords,

* *Camillus Borellus Biblioth. Germ.* T. I.

Lords, and amongſt others the Cannons of the Cathedral of Lyons, claimed a right to lie the firſt night of the nuptials, with their Bondmen's wives.

The creation of Nobility.

The civil wars amongſt the Sons of *Lewis le Debonnaire*, were very bloody. It is ſaid, that at the ſingle battle of Fontenai, in 841, there were near 100,000 Frenchmen ſlain, and that more than two thirds of the Nobility of Champaign periſhed at the ſame time; that *Charles* the Bald, to repair this loſs in ſome meaſure, granted to ſuch young women of noble families in this Province, as married Plebeians, the privilege of ennobling their huſbands. *Thoſe are held noble*, ſays the ancient cuſtom of Champaign and Brie, *who are the iſſue of either a noble father or mother.* This Nobility which the mother tranſmitted to her deſcendants, did not begin to be called in queſtion till the year 1566; when the King's *Procureur* of the Court of Aides of Paris, alledged that this cuſtom had been tolerated by neceſſity, and to fill the Country with Nobility, but that the cauſe having ceaſed, the effect ſhould ceaſe likewiſe.

I do not know a more flattering or a finer title to Nobility, than that which the deſcendants of *Ann Muſnier* produced, at the reformation. Three men, whilſt they were waiting in an alley of the Count of Champaign's garden, for that Prince's riſing, were conſulting together upon a plot they had laid for aſſaſſinating him. *Ann Muſnier*, who was concealed behind a tree, overheard part of their converſation: ſeeing them withdraw, and ſhocked at the thoughts of a deſign againſt her Prince's life, or fearful perhaps, that ſhe ſhould not have time enough to acquaint him of it, ſhe called out from the other end of the walk, and beckoned to them, that ſhe wanted to ſpeak with them. One of them advanced towards her; ſhe ſtabbed him with a large kitchen knife, and he fell at her feet: ſhe then defended herſelf againſt the other two, and received ſeveral wounds. By this time people came to her aſſiſtance; and in ſearching theſe villains, there were found upon them preſumptive proofs of a conſpiracy. They confeſſed the whole, when put to the torture, and were quartered. *Ann Muſnier*, *Gerard de Langres* her huſband, and their deſcendants were ennobled.

In an Information of the 1ſt. *December*, 1446, to prove the nobility of *Perette Bureau*, who was married to *John le Gras*, it was held forth,

forth,* *that ſhe had been carried to Church upon a hand-barrow, with a faggot of thorns and juniper, as anciently uſed to be done to Gentlemen and Gentlewomen, which ceremony is never practiſed for thoſe who are not noble, ſuch being neither carried on their wedding day, nor on the ſucceeding one, upon a hand-barrow with a faggot of thorns and juniper.*

Coats of Arms.

" In Eſcutcheons and Coats of Arms, ſays " *Agrippa*, (*De Vanitate Scientiarum*, cap. 81.) " it would not be proper to ſee a fowl, a gooſe, " a duck, a calf, a lamb, or any other animal " that is gentle and uſeful to human life; the " marks and ſigns of nobility muſt have ſome " ferocious and carnaverous beaſts in them."

Every people have had their national Symbols, figures and enſigns. The Athenians had their owl; the Thracians adopted the figure of death; the Celtæ a ſword; the Romans an eagle; the Carthaginians a horſe's head; the Saxons a galloping courſer; the firſt French a lion, and the Goths a bear. Amongſt the Romans every Legion had its particular ſymbol; the *Thundering Legion*, and the *Draconarii*, were ſo called, becauſe the ſoldiers of the one, had a thunder-bolt

* Traité de la Nobleſſe, par *de la Roque*, p. 165.

painted upon their ſhields, and thoſe of the other a dragon.

The Druids of the College of Autun, had for their banner (probably on account of the virtue they attributed to a ſerpent's egg,) a field azure, with a ſerpent Argent couchant, ſurmounted with a ſprig of miſletoe, and ornamented with *acorns-vert*. The Symbols of the chief Druid were keys *.

The Germans, ſays *Tacitus* (*De Morib. Gerom.* cap. 7.) carried with them to the wars, certain colours and devices, which were depoſited in time of peace, in the ſacred woods. Our Kings went in the ſame manner, and took the hood of St. Martin, from his tomb, with the Oriflamme, or banner of the Abbey of St. Denis, both of which they replaced, when the war was at an end.

" Let our Intendants, ſays *Charles* the Bald, " in his Capitularies, take care that every Bi- " ſhop, Abbot, and Abbeſs, cauſe their Vaſſals " to march with all warlike accoutrements, their " enſign-bearer, (*Guntfanonarius*)." In the Reign of *Lewis* the Fat, it was ordered, that the Cities and large Boroughs ſhould raiſe troops of ſhopkeepers, who were to march to the army by Pariſhes, with the Curates at their head,

* Religion des Gauſois, Tom. I. p. 215.

head, bearing the ſtandards of their reſpective Churches.

Beſides the hood of St. Martin and the banner of St. Denis, there was alſo the Royal ſtandard; but its figures, emblems and devices were not fixed; every King changed them, and invented new ones, frequently very different from thoſe of his Predeceſſor. *What do we ſee,* ſays le Gendre, (Mœurs des François, p. 89.) *upon the ſeals of our ancient Kings? Their portraits, Church porches, croſſes, and heads of Saints.* It is certain, there are no veſtiges of flowers de luce to be found, either in ſtone or metal, nor upon medals or ſeals, before the time of *Lewis* the Young. It was in his Reign about the year 1147, that the Eſcutcheons of France began to be charged with Lilies, and that the arms which the Princes, Barons, and Gentlemen took for the ſecond Croiſade, began likewiſe to be fixed and hereditary, and to be marks of diſtinction for particular families.

All Hiſtorians relate, that in 1085, *Robert,* eldeſt ſon to *William* the Conqueror, having rebelled againſt his father, gave him ſo violent a blow with a lance, in a rencounter, that he diſmounted him; that by ſome words which *William* uttered when he was falling, *Robert* having diſcovered him to be his father, he threw himſelf

upon the ground, and with tears in his eyes aſked his pardon, and helped him to get up. This proves that at that time, enſigns armorial were not fixed, and hereditary; for when they afterwards became ſo, every body affected to wear them, and to place them in a conſpicuous point of view upon the coat of arms and ſhield; particularly Kings and Princes, that all the world might ſee they wanted to be known, and were not afraid of being ſingled out by the enemy. The coat of arms of our Kings was blue, ſown with Flower de luce *Or*; they wore a white ſcarf. From time immemorial, white has been the characteriſtic colour of our Nation, as red ſeems always to have been that of England.

It was in the Reign of *Charles V.* that the Flower de luce, which were formerly innumerable in the ſtandard of France, were firſt reduced to three.

Liveries.

Coats of arms being fixed and hereditary, occaſioned the introduction of Liveries, and as every one pleaſed his own fancy in chuſing his Atchievement, ſo Livries were in the ſame manner compoſed and arranged. I ſaid above, that enſigns armorial were placed upon the coat of

arms

arms and ſhield; beſides which a ſcarf was alſo wore, the colour whereof determined of what province any one was a native. The ſcarves of the Counts of Flanders were of deep green, and thoſe of the Counts of Anjou light green; the Dukes of Burgundy wore red; the Counts of Blois and Champaign azure and blue; the Dukes of Lorraine yellow, and the Dukes of Britanny black and white. The Vaſſals of theſe different Princes, had likewiſe different ſcarves, and thoſe amongſt theſe Vaſſals, who were allied to their Princes, or filled ſome conſiderable poſt under them, blended by way of compliment with their own particular Livries, a little binding of lace, of various breadths, and of the colour of their Lords livery. Hence it is, that we ſo commonly obſerve a deep green in the liveries of the Nobility of Flanders, and of the one half of Picardy; a light green in the liveries of the Nobility of Anjou, and red in the liveries of the Nobility of Burgundy; azure and blue in the liveries of the Nobility of Bleſſis and Champaign; yellow in the liveries of the Nobility of Lorraine and the Duchy of Bar; and black in the liveries of the Nobility of Britanny. The Nobility in the environs of Paris, who held immediately of the King, have blue uſually intermixed in their liveries, becauſe blue was the colour of our Kings.

It will doubtleſs be aſked, why both white and red are introduced into the Royal livery. The reaſon is, becauſe white, as I have already obſerved, has been from time immemorial, the leading and characteriſtic colour of the Nation; and with reſpect to red, our Kings when they had a great Court, were dreſſed in a large red caſſock, under a blue cloak ornamented with Flowers de luce.

The Champions at Tournaments were not obliged to wear their own liveries; they were at liberty to appear in what whimſical ones they pleaſed, and theſe were uſually fixed upon, according to the favourite colours of their Ladies.

Noblemen and Tradeſmen, out of devotion to ſome Saint, oſten made themſelves Bondmen of the Church dedicated to him, and no longer appeared in any other dreſs than a little doublet of the colour of his banner, with an iron ring round their wriſt or ancle. It is highly credible, that by a profane imitation of this cuſtom, ſome tender Knight, to teſtify his amorous ſervitude, invented thoſe bracelets or rings of coloured lace, which are wore round the arm, and ſerve as an ornament to ſeveral liveries.

Twice a year the King diſtributed red cloaks lined with ermine or white and grey fur, to the Knights whom he kept near his perſon, to adminiſter

miniſter juſtice, and aſſiſt him with their Counſel in affairs of State; theſe cloaks were called *livery Robes*. *John Vignerot* having received ſeveral wounds at the battle of Courtrai, in 1302, and having been trampled for a conſiderable time under the horſes feet, languiſhed for four years: *Though this Knight could neither arm himſelf, nor mount on horſeback, nor try a cauſe, yet* Philip *the Fair, was willing that he ſhould ſtill continue to ſhare of the livery Robes.*

Of ſome Faſhions and Dreſſes.

Upwards of 400,000 Frenchmen periſhed in the Croiſades, but we brought back with us from theſe wars, a variety of faſhions, and amongſt others that of dreſſing in long coats. In the 12th, 13th, 14th and 15th Centuries, it was cuſtomary to wear a caſſock that reached down to the ground. The Nobles fancied, that adding a long train to this caſſock would furniſh a pretext for getting ſome one to carry it, and that the abject employment of ſuch a perſon, would give conſequence and an air of diſtinction to the Maſter.

None but *Knights* had the privilege of wearing a cloak over the caſſock. The ſleeves of the cloak being very wide and ample, were

tied up before at the bending of the arm, and hung down behind as low as the ham. Theſe cloaks were made of the fineſt ſtuffs, and were lined with ermine, ſable, and white and grey furs. Even a Prince and his wife could not wear gold upon their cloaths, till ſuch time as he was Knighted.

For upwards of three centuries, the French had the external appearance of peaceable Citizens and good Compatriots. No ſwords were wore: a long purſe hanging down from the girdle was a mark of Nobility. Thoſe rods of iron which we now wear by our ſides, give us the appearance of a turbulent people.

They covered their heads with a hood, or kind of capuchin, with a roll, a top and tail hanging behind; it was uſually made of the ſame kind of ſtuff as the cloak or caſſock, and was trimmed with the ſame ſort of ſkin. It has ſince become the Epitogium of the Preſidents *à Mortier*, the ameſs of the Canons, and the *chauſſe* of the Advocates, Counſellors, Doctors, and Profeſſors of the Univerſity. Thus the Preſidents *à Mortier* wear their ancient cap round their neck; the Canons upon their arm; and the Advocates, Counſellors, and Doctors upon their ſhoulders.

In

In the Reign of *Charles V.* they wore *emblazened coats*, i. e. coats daubed over with all the pieces of their Eſcutcheons.

In the Reign of *Charles VI.* the *bipartite habit* was invented, which reſembled a Vergers coat, being of two different colours. We find in a Journal of thoſe times, "that on the 17th of October, 1409, the Sire *John de Montagu* * was conducted from the little Chatelet to the Halles, being ſeated high in a cart, and dreſſed in his livery, viz. a great-coat half red and half white, and a hood of the ſame, with a red buſkin and a white one, gilt ſpurs, his hands tied, and two trumpets before him; and that after his head was cut off, his body was carried to the Gibbet of Paris, and was there hung up with his buſkins and gilt ſpurs.

In the Reign of *Francis I.* not contented with throwing off the voluminous long dreſs, they run into the oppoſite extreme. In ſome tapiſtry of that time, this Prince and his Courtiers are re-

* He was Grand Maſter of the King's Houſhold, and Superintendant of the Finances. Father *Dubreuil* ſays, that his body was carried to Montfaucon, in a ſack, filled with ſpices, which were furniſhed by the Celeſtins, in order to preſerve it till ſuch time as they were allowed to bury it. See the Journal de Paris, *ſous le regne de* Charles VI. & Charles VII. p. 3.

preſented in the dreſs of Pantaloons, that is to ſay, in a doublet with ſhort ſkirts and with breeches and ſtockings all of a piece. This dreſs ſet ſo cloſe upon the body, and diſplayed the mouldings of it ſo very exactly, that it was quite indecent. The graver ſort of people adopted the wide breeches of the Swiſs, and the younger ſort invented *the Trouſſes*, which were a kind of breeches ſhort and turned up, that reached no lower down than the middle of the thigh, and was covered with a half petticoat; ſo in the Reigns of *Henry II. Francis II. Charles IX. Henry III.* and *Henry IV.* except the little cloak which running footmen do not wear, they were in every reſpect dreſſed as theſe are now; and they moreover wore little caps whereon the arms were embroidered. In the army theſe caps were wore with deep crowns, which covered the greater part of the head; at Court and in the City, they were placed over the right ear; the left ear, which remained bare, was ornamented with a pearl drop ear-ring.

The Women in the Reign of *Charles VI.* had their heads dreſſed in a high cap, in the form of a ſugar-loaf; a veil was tied to the top of this cap, and hung down more or leſs according to the quality of the wearer. The veil of a tradeſman's wife did not deſcend below the ſhoulders; that

that of a Knight's lady, reached to the ground.--In the Reigns of *Francis I.* and *Henry II.* they wore little hats with a feather. From the time of *Henry II.* to the Reign of *Henry IV.* they wore little caps with an aigrette.

In the Reign of *Francis II.* the men diſcovered, that a large belly gave a majeſtic air, and the women immediately fancied that a broad bottom was of equal dignity. Falſe bellies and falſe backſides were therefore wore, and this ridiculous faſhion laſted three or four years. What is moſt remarkable is, that as ſoon as it took place, the women ſeemed no longer ſollicitous about their faces, and began to hide them; they wore a vizor, and were no more ſeen, either in the ſtreets, in the walks, a viſiting, or even at Church, but in maſks. Patches ſucceeded the vizor, and it is ſaid they were put on in ſuch numbers, that the face could hardly be known. With reſpect to *Rouge*, I ſhall obſerve, that Generals uſed it * when they made their triumphal entry into Rome; and a pretty woman may fancy every day to be a day of triumph for her.

Beards.

* *Servius. in Virg. Ec. VI.*

Beards.

It is a certain principle that every Frenchman was a Soldier; that if he followed any other calling, he ceaſed to be a Frenchman; and that to point him out as being no longer of the nation, he was obliged to cut his beard and hair, which were the diſtinguiſhing marks between a Frenchman, and the conquered people. Young men wore only whiſkers.

Alaric, King of the Viſigoths, being apprehenſive of an attack from *Clovis*, and wanting to amuſe him with fine expectations, deſired an interview with him for the ſake of touching his beard *, or adopting him; for the perſon adopted was taken by the beard or whiſker. *Eginard*, *Charlemain*'s Secretary, ſpeaking of the laſt Kings of the firſt Race, ſays, that they came to the aſſemblies in the Field of Mars, in a chariot drawn by oxen, and that they were ſeated upon the Throne, with long flowing hair, and a beard that reached down to their ſtomach; *crine profuſo, barbâ ſubmiſſâ.*

Robert, (the Grand-father of *Hugh Capet*) whom *Charles* the Simple killed with his own hand, for his having meditated to rob him of the crown, † *had in the beginning of the battle, let his great*

* *Fauchet*, C. XXI. † Vide *Mezerai*, Tom. I. p. 635.

great white beard fall beneath the vizor of his helmet, that he might be known by his own people. This is a proof that long beards were wore under the ſecond Race, and the cuſtom continued under the firſt Kings of the third Race. *Hugh*, Count of Chalons, having been vanquiſhed by *Richard*, Duke of Normandy, went and threw himſelf at his feet, with a ſaddle upon his back, to ſhew that he ſubmitted entirely to him: *with his long beard*, ſays the Chronicle, *he had more the appearance of a goat than a horſe.*

Towards the end of the eleventh century, the Archbiſhop of Rouen declared * war againſt long hair: ſeveral Biſhops joined him, and it was enacted in a Council of the year 1096, *that thoſe who wore long hair, ſhould be excluded from the Church during their lives, and ſhould not be prayed for after death.* This ſtep differently affected different minds: it occaſioned ſo much diſturbance, invective and keen diſpute, for ſeveral years, that the oppoſite parties may both brag of having had martyrs in their cauſe.

About the year 1146, upon the repreſentations of the celebrated *Peter Lombard*, who was afterwards Biſhop of Paris, *Lewis VII.* thought it a matter of conſcience § to give an exam-

* Hiſt. des Archeveques de Rouen, par *P. Pomeraye*, C. VIII.

§ Vid. *Rob. Cenalis, Hiſt. Gallica.*

example of ſubmiſſion to the commands of the Biſhops, on the ſubject of long hair, he did not only ſhorten that, but even ſhaved his beard. *Leonora* of Aquitaine, a vivacious, flighty, jocoſe Princeſs, whom he had married, rallied him upon his ſhort hair and ſhaven chin; he devoutly replied to her, that thoſe things were not to be jeſted with. A woman who once begins to find her huſband ridiculous, ſeldom heſitates about affairs of gallantry, if ſhe has the leaſt turn that way. *Leonora* had pleaſure in the love and aſſiduities of the Prince of Antioch. *Lewis VII.* perceived it, and repented having carried her into Syria. Upon his return from the Croiſade, he upbraided her in the ſharpeſt manner; ſhe replied with much haughtineſs, and concluded with propoſing a divorce to him, adding, that ſhe knew how to procure one, *as a trick had been put upon her; for that ſhe thought to have married a Prince, and ſhe had wedded nothing but a Monk* *. The miſunderſtanding betwixt them unhappily increaſed, and their marriage was diſſolved. Six weeks after ſhe was eſpouſed to *Henry*, Duke of Normandy, Count of Anjou, and afterwards King of England, who obtained with her, by way of dower, Poitou and Guyenne. Hence aroſe

* *Mezerai*, Vol. II. p. 203.

aroſe thoſe wars which ravaged France for 300 years. Upwards of three millions of Frenchmen periſhed, becauſe an Archbiſhop was offended with long hair; becauſe a King had cut his hair and ſhaved his beard, and becauſe his wife looked upon him as ridiculous with his ſhort hair and ſhaven chin.

Francis I. having been wounded on Epiphany's day, 1521, by a firebrand, careleſsly thrown from a window, was obliged to have his hair cut off. Fearful leſt he ſhould have the air of a Monk, with the hood of that time, his head ſhaved and no beard, he thought of wearing a hat, and letting his beard grow. Long beards, then, once more came in faſhion, and continued ſo during the Reigns of *Henry II. Francis II. Charles IX.* and *Henry III.*

In 1526, *Francis Olivier*, who was afterwards Chancellor, could not be admitted Maſter of Requeſts in Parliament, without having his long beard ſhaved, *if he wanted to aſſiſt at the pleadings.* *Peter Lenot*, in 1556, being appointed to a Canonſhip of Notre-Dame, the Chapter objected for a very conſiderable time againſt his long beard, but conſented at laſt, that he ſhould be received without having it cut off, *though this was derogating from the Statutes of the Church.* Theſe two examples de-

demonſtrate, that every body in France, except Eccleſiaſtics and Magiſtrates, then wore long beards. *It muſt have been very pleaſant*, ſays the Abbé de St. Real, (De l'uſage de l'Hiſtoire, Diſc. 5.) *to ſee all the gay and warlike youth of the Court of* Francis I. *with as long beards as they could poſſibly have, whilſt the Gentlemen of the grand Chamber were ſhaved, as the Minions of* Henry III. *were afterwards.* The Abbé de St. Real, is miſtaken. The Dukes of *Joyeuſe*, d'*Epernon*, *Quelus*, *S. Maigrin*, and other Courtiers, or Mignons of *Henry III.* were not ſhaved; it is certain that they wore long beards, as was done in the Reign of *Francis I.* and *Henry II.* As to the ſhaved chins of the Gentlemen of the grand Chamber, theſe are my ſentiments: We have ſeen that *Lewis VII.* left off wearing a long beard about the year 1146, and that it came in faſhion again in 1521. The Parliament were doubtleſs of opinion, that they ought not to conform to this new mode, which was at firſt followed by none but Courtiers, as it would have have been affecting their airs; and in thoſe times, a Magiſtrate who affected the Court faſhions, and was often ſeen there, was thought to be ſold, or ready to ſell himſelf for favours. The King's ſervants, in the Reign of *Henry II.*

having

having repreſented to the Chambers aſſembled, that certain Officers belonging to the Parliament had appeared too buſy at the Louvre, all Magiſtrates were forbid to attend the King or his Miniſters without leave, *that they might not come to play the Courtier amongſt Magiſtrates, after having been acting the Magiſtrate amongſt Courtiers.*

In the Reign of *Henry IV.* the beard was ſhortened; it was worn only three fingers in length under the chin, in the ſhape of a fan, rounded, and ſet off with two long ſtiff whiſkers, in the manner of a cat's beard. Afterwards, only the two whiſkers were retained, with a little toupee of hair in the middle, and quite round the under lip. Marſhal *Baſſompierre* ſaid, that all the alteration he had found in the world after twelve years impriſonment, was that the men had loſt their beards, and the horſes their tails. The *Royal* was for a conſiderable time the faſhionable whiſker, in the Reign of *Lewis XIV.*

Whilſt the *fan beards* were in vogue, they were kept in that form, with preparations of wax, which gave the hair an agreeable ſmell, and the colour that was deſired. The beard was dreſſed over night, and that it might not get out of order whilſt the perſon was aſleep, it

it was incloſed in a *bigote'le* *, or kind of bag made on purpoſe.

Feſtivals and Diverſions.

It was in thoſe Aſſemblies called *Cours plenieres*, (full Courts) that the magnificence of our Kings was diſplayed. Theſe Aſſemblies, to which all the Nobility were invited, were held twice † a year, at Eaſter, and on All Saint's day, or at Chriſtmas. For ſeven or eight days that they continued, the King dreſſed in all the pomp of Majeſty, eat in public, with the Crown on his head, and never quitted it, but when he retired to reſt. The Lords temporal and ſpiritual were at his table. The Conſtable and other great Officers, received and ſerved up

* The bag which the Devotees hung at their girdle to diſtribute alms, was alſo called *bigotelle*.

† Our Kings alſo held *Cours plenieres*, at their Coronation, upon their Marriage, at the Baptiſm of their Children, and when they created them Knights. Theſe Feſtivals did not fail to attract a great number of quacks, jugglers, rope dancers, merry Andrews and Mimes. The merry Andrews told ſtories, thoſe who were called jugglers, played upon a cymbal, whilſt monkeys, dogs, and bears danced. It is ſaid that the Mimes excelled in their Art, and that by their geſtures, attitudes, and poſtures, they expreſſed a paſſage in Hiſtory, as clearly and pathetically, as if they had recited it.

up the diſhes on horſeback. At the Dinner of the Inauguration of *Charles VI.* ſays *Froiſſart*, (Tom. II. cap. 6.) *the Dukes of Brabant, Anjou, Berri, Burgundy and Bourbon, that Prince's uncles, were ſeated at table at a good diſtance from him, with the Archbiſhop of Rheims, and other Prelates upon his right hand. The Sires de Couci, de Cliſſon, de la Trimouille, the ſea Admiral and others, ſerved upon high horſes, all covered and ornamented with cloth of gold.* Every ſervice was introduced to the ſound of flutes and hautboys. At the *Entremets*, twenty Heralds at Arms advanced, each with a cup in his hand, filled with gold and ſilver pieces, which he threw to the populace, crying with a loud voice, the *grand Monarch's bounty.*

On Whitſunday, 1313, *Philip* the Fair, created his three ſons Knights, with all the ceremonies of ancient Chivalry. The King and Queen of England, whom he had invited, croſſed the ſea on purpoſe, and were preſent at this feaſt, with a great number of their Barons. It laſted eight days, and the magnificence of the dreſſes, the ſumptuouſneſs of the feaſts, and the variety of the diverſions, rendered it one of the moſt ſuperb and entertaining Feſtivals ever known. * *The Princes and Lords changed*

* Hiſt. de Paris, Tom. I. p. 552.

ged their dreſs thrice a day. The Pariſians repreſented ſeveral ſhews; at one time the glory of the bleſſed; at another the torments of the damned; then various ſorts of animals: This laſt repreſentation was called the proceſſion of the Fox.

* Will it be credited that in ſeveral Cathedrals, the proceſſion of the Aſs was exhibited? The Sub-Deacons, and Children of the Choir, after having decorated an Aſs's back with a large hood †, went and received him at the Church porch, ſinging a ridiculous Anthem, which contained a verſe to this purpoſe, *that the virtue of an Aſs had enriched the Clergy.*

Aurum de Arabia,
Thus & Myrrham de Saba
Tulit in Eccleſia
Virtus Aſinaria ‡.

To return to the Court feaſts, the name of *Entremets* § was given to thoſe decorations which were

* Vide Mſſ. *Baluze*, the King's Library.

† Regiſtre de la Cathedrale d'Autun.

‡ Memoire pour ſervir à l'Hiſtoire de la fête des Foux, p. 25.

§ *Entremets*, were ſo called, becauſe they were invented to amuſe the gueſts, during the Intervals of the Services of a grand Feaſt. This word has alſo been long in uſe in theatrical Repreſentations, inſtead of the word *Interlude*.

were moved about the Salloon, repreſenting Cities, Caſtles, and Gardens, with fountains of all kinds of liquor. * When our King *Charles V.* gave a dinner to the Emperor *Charles IV.* in 1378, after Maſs was celebrated, the gueſts were conducted by the Gallery *des Merciers*, into the great Hall of the Palace, where the tables were laid. The King ſeated himſelf betwixt the Emperor and the King of the Romans. There were three large Buffets, the firſt ſet out with gold plate, the ſecond with ſilver gilt plate, and the third with ſilver plate. Towards the end of the Dinner, the *Entremets* began. § A ſhip with maſts, ſails, and rigging was ſeen firſt; ſhe had for colours the arms of the City of Jeruſalem: *Godfrey de Bouillon* appeared upon deck, accompanied by ſeveral Knights armed cap-à-pee. The ſhip advanced into the middle of the Hall, without the machine, which ſet it in motion, being perceptible. Then the City of Jeruſalem appeared, with all its Towers lined with Saracens. The ſhip approached the City; the Chriſtians landed and began the aſſault; the beſieged made a good defence; ſeveral ſcaling ladders were thrown down; but at length the City was taken. Dinner being finiſhed, the apparatus for waſh-

* Hiſt. d'Allemagne, par le P. *Barre.*

§ *Chriſtine de Piſan*, C. XLI. Partie 3me.

waſhing was introduced, and the King and Emperor waſhed together. Then, according to ancient cuſtom, wine, ſpices, or comfits were ſet upon the table.

Charles IX. having gone to dine with a Gentleman near Carcaſſonne, the ceiling opened at the end of the Repaſt, a thick cloud deſcended, and burſt with an exploſion like that of thunder, when there fell a ſhower of ſugar plums in the form of hail, followed by a gentle dew of perfumed water.

The inhabitants of the Cities through which the King paſſed, endeavoured, as they do at preſent, to diſplay their genius and joy, by devices, emblems, and allegorical figures. Upon the entry of *Lewis XI.* into Tournay, in the year 1463, * *the prettieſt girl of the City deſcended from the top of the gate by a machine; who, in ſaluting the King, opened her robe before her boſom, where there was a heart very finely ſhaped; which heart parted aſunder, and a large Flower de luce iſſued forth, which ſhe preſented to the King in the name of the City, ſaying: Sire, I am a Virgin, and ſo is the City* ‡, *for it never was taken, nor ever turned againſt the Kings of France, every*

* *Monſtrelet*, Vol. III. p. 101.

‡ *Tournai*, which France was inclinable to cede to the Houſe of Auſtria, was the cradle of the French, and of the Monarchy in Gaul.

every one of its inhabitants having a Flower de luce in his heart.

For the ſeven or eight days that the *Cours plenieres* continued, there were tilting and tournaments, and a ball after ſupper. *Lewis XII.* held *Cours plenieres* at Milan *, in 1501, where there were very magnificent Balls, at which the Cardinals de Narbonne and St. Severin danced †. Cardinal *Palavicini* relates, that in 1562, the Fathers aſſembled at the Council of Trente, deliberated upon giving a ball to *Philip II.* King of Spain; that all the Ladies of the City were invited to it; that Cardinal de Mantoue opened the ball, and that *Philip II.* and all the Fathers of the Council danced.

Our Kings uſed to take delight in making wild beaſts fight together. The Monk of St. Gal relates, that in the court of the Abbey de Ferrieres, at a battle between a Lion and a Bull, *Pepin* the Short, who knew there were ſome Lads that were merry upon his low ſtature, aſked them, *which amongſt you finds himſelf courageous enough, to go and kill, or ſeparate, thoſe terrible animals?* Perceiving that no one offered himſelf, and that the very propoſal made them tremble,

* Vie du Cardinal d'Amboiſe.

† Abrégé Chronologique de St. *Romuald*, Religieux Feuillant.

well then, added he, *I will go.* He went down from his ſeat, drew his ſabre, killed the Lion, ſtruck off the bull's head with another ſtroke, and afterwards looking ſternly at the jokers, *Learn*, ſaid he, *that ſtature adds nothing to courage, and that I can overthrow thoſe haughty men who dare to deſpiſe me, juſt as little* David *overthrew the giant* Goliah. It ſeems the truth of this affair was not queſtioned, when the porch of Notre-Dame was erected: we there ſee the Statue of King *Pepin*, ſword in hand, over a Lion.

Francis I. being at Amboiſe, amongſt other amuſements with which he wanted to divert the Ladies, propoſed to take one of the moſt enormous bears of the foreſt alive. This animal *, which was brought into the Court yard of the Caſtle, becoming furious from little darts and wiſps of ſtraw which were lanced at him from the windows, run up the great ſtair-caſe, and broke into the Ladies Apartment. *Francis I.* forbid any one to approach the bear, but waiting for him, ſheathed his cutlaſs in his head between his eyes, and when he fell, turned him on the other ſide with only his hand: this Prince was at that time no more than 25 years of age.

Fools.

* Hiſt. Mſſ. *de la Touraine*, the King's Library.

Fools.

In the Archives of the City of Troye, in Champaigne, a Letter of *Charles V.* is preſerved, wherein *he acquaints the Mayor and Sheriffs, that his fool is dead, and that they muſt ſend him another, according to cuſtom.* Our Kings kept fools, who were titular officers, and what is very remarkable, they erected monuments to their memory. In the Regiſters of the Chamber of Accounts may be ſeen *, that this ſame *Charles V.* this wiſe Prince, cauſed a tomb to be erected for one of his fools, in the Church of St. Germain de l'Auxerrois; and that he had a ſimilar one erected to the memory of *Thevenin*, another of his fools, in the Church of St. Maurice de Senli. *It is compoſed*, ſays *Sauval*, *of a tomb of free-ſtone, 8 feet and a half in length, by 4 and a half in breadth. In the middle is a figure dreſſed in a long habit, lying upon one ſide, the feet of which are of alabaſter inlaid, as is likewiſe the face. The head is dreſſed in a leathern cap which ends in a tuft; the ſhoulders are covered with a frock made in the ſhape of a capuchin; there are two bags upon the boſom, and a play-thing in the hand. There are a great number of little figures cut with incredible delicacy and patience, in niches round this tomb.*

* *Sauval*, Tom. I. p. 331, and Tom. III. p. 34.

An Epitaph is inſcribed upon it to the following purpoſe.

Here lies Thevenin de St. Legier, *Fool to our Lord the King, who departed this life,* July 11th. *in the year of grace* 1374. *Pray to God for his Soul.*

Funerals.

Before I enter upon the ſubject of Funerals, I ſhall ſay ſomething of Chriſtenings. Children, and grown perſons who were baptiſed, were dreſſed in white robes, which they wore for eight days. *Queen* Clotilda, ſays Gregory of Tours, (Lib. II. cap. 29.) *was delivered of a boy who was called* Ingomer; *he lived but a few days, and ſtill were at the time of his death, the white robes which he had been dreſſed in at his Chriſtening. The Church was hung with white.*

The Monk of St. Gal relates, that *Lewis le Debonnaire,* whoſe example was followed by the Lords of his Court, made rich preſents to the Normans who deſired to be baptiſed; that one year during the Eaſter holydays, theſe pirates came in ſuch numbers, that there were not white robes ſufficient to give to them all; that ſome were made in a hurry, and that a Norman Lord having looked at a robe which was brought him,

him, threw it on the ground with indignation, ſwearing, it was at leaſt the twentieth time that he had come to be baptiſed, and that he had never been preſented with ſuch a raſcally robe. Such, unfortunately, are the greateſt part of the Converſions which the Miſſionaries glory in.

The baptiſmal Fonts, which are uſed at the Chriſtenings of the Children of France, are kept in the Chapel of St. Vincennes. They conſiſt of a copper vaſe, in the form of an antique baſon, covered all over with plates of ſilver, whereon human figures are ſo artfully cut, that the copper is only ſeen, as it were, by threads. This vaſe was made, according to *Godefroy* *, in 897; but he is miſtaken; it was provided for the Chriſtening of *Philip Auguſtus*, born *Auguſt* 12th, 1166.

At *Lewis XIV*th's Chriſtening, *Lewis XIII:* permitted all thoſe who had been proſecuted, for any action that was not really diſhonourable, to return into the Kingdom; but they could not have their pardon confirmed, *till they had previouſly ſerved three ſucceſſive months, at their own expence, in ſome Regiment.* A hundred of theſe who compoſed a Company, were cut to pieces at the attack of one of the works, at the ſiege of Briſac.

Let

* Cérémonial François, Tom. II. p. 176.

Let us now enter upon Funerals. *Gregory* of Tours relates, (Lib. II. cap. 35.) that *Algaric*, King of the Viſigoths, wrote to *Clovis*, *if my Brother pleaſes we will have an interview.* The cuſtom therefore among Kings of giving one another the title of brother is very ancient; but they did not put on mourning for each other, unleſs they were near relations.

Fredegonda ordered that the ſame ceremonies ſhould be obſerved at the funeral of her eldeſt ſon *Clodebert*, as at thoſe of Kings: all the Lords and Ladies aſſiſted in mourning, with their hair diſhevelled, *and powder'd with aſhes.*

The Tombs of the Kings of the firſt Race after *Clovis*, conſiſted only of a large ſtone hollowed deep, and covered with another in the form of a vault. There were neither figures nor epitaphs upon theſe ſtones. On the inſide ſome Inſcriptions were engraven, and here they were extravagantly * magnificent.

The

* By the 2d. Art. of the 9th Chap. of the Salique Laws, he who ſhall take up a Corpſe to rob it, is forbid the uſe of fire and water. His wife was not allowed to aſſiſt him, nor to live with him, till ſuch time as he had made the relations of the deceaſed ſuch ſatisfaction as they deſired; moreover ſlaves were poſted, or people were hired, to watch and guard thoſe tombs and public burying-places.

The Tomb of *Childeric II.* was diſcovered in 1646, in the Abbey of St. Germain des Prez, and there were found in it a belt, ſword, a bit of a Diadem of golden tiſſue, a golden claſp, weighing about 8 ounces, a cryſtal vaſe, filled with perfumes, from which ſome odour ſtill exhaled, ſome poignards, and ſeveral ſquare pieces of ſilver, whereon was impreſſed the figure of a two-headed ſerpent *, probably to ſignify that this Prince was treacherouſly murdered. A French Lord whom he had treated very unworthily, ſtabbed him with the Queen his wife and their children, in the foreſt of Livri.

It ſeems they did not begin to inſert Epitaphs upon the Tombs of our Kings till the time of the ſecond Race. *Eginard* gives us that which was written in the Church of Notre-Dame of Aix-la-Chapelle, over *Charlemain*'s grave. It is very ſimple;

Here lies the Body of Charles *the great and orthodox Emperor. He glorioufly extended the Empire of the French, and reigned happily for forty-ſeven years. He died in the ſeventieth* † *year of his age,* January 28th, 814.

* This Serpent has one of its heads where the tail ſhould be, and is the ſymbol of treachery.

† He was 72 years of age.

His body after being embalmed, was interred in a vault: he was ſeated on a Throne, and I believe, is the only perſon that ever was buried * ſitting. He was dreſſed in his imperial Robes, with a hair cloth underneath; his *joyeuſe* was girt by his ſide; this was the name of his ſword. He ſeemed to look up to Heaven, and his head was ornamented with a golden chain in the form of a Diadem; he held a golden globe in one hand, and the other reſted upon the book of the Evangeliſts, which was placed upon his knees; his golden ſcepter and ſhield were hung againſt the wall before him; the vault, after being filled with perfumes, aromatic herbs, and great treaſure ‡, was ſhut and ſealed up. Formerly a man was very magnificently dreſſed in a mighty plain tomb; now he is covered with nothing but a ſhroud in a tomb, whoſe external part is very ſuperb.

The ancient Chronicles relate, *that* Charlemain, *cauſed the body of* Roland, *who was killed at Ronceveaux, in* 778, *to be opened and embalmed* † *with balm, myrrh, and aloes. The obſequies and*

* Travellers tell us of certain people in America, who bury their dead in this poſture.

‡ *Et repleverunt ejus ſepulcrum aromatibus, & balſamo & muſco & theſauris multis in auro.* Ducheſne, Vol. II. p. 87.

† *D. Bouquet*, Vol. V. p. 307.

*and ſervices of the dead were ſung by Miniſters of the holy Church, with many lights. . . . the body was carried by two mules to the City of Blaye, in a gilt bier covered with rich ſilk drapery, and received very honourable burial, his truſty ſword being placed at his head, and his Oliſant * at his feet in honour of our Lord, and as a ſign of his great proweſs.*

‡ At the Funeral of *Philip Auguſtus*, Cardinal *Conrad*, Legate from the Holy See, and *William*, Archbiſhop of Rheims, diſputed who ſhould have the honour of ſinging high Maſs. To bring them to a reconciliation, it was agreed † that they ſhould ſing it together at two different Altars, and that the other Prelates, Clergy, Monks, and the Congregation, ſhould make the reſponſes, as if only one were officiating.

The body of St. *Lewis*'s ſon, who died in the 16th year of his age, was firſt carried to St. Denis, and from thence to the Abbey of Royaumont, where it was interred. The greateſt Lords of the Kingdom bore ‖ the Coffin by turns,

* This was a ſmall horn which Paladines and Knights Errant uſed to wind, to call the enemy and to bid him defiance.

‡ *Rigord*, p. 266.

† Hiſt. de Paris, Tom. I. p. 268.

‖ *Guil. Nangii, Chroniq.* p. 371.

upon their ſhoulders; and *Henry III.* King of England, who was then at Paris, bore it himſelf for ſome time, as a feudatory of the Crown.

At the porch of the Church of Notre-Dame, King *Philip III.* took upon his ſhoulders the remains of his father St. *Lewis*, and carried them as far as St. Denis, accompanied by the Archbiſhops, Biſhops and Abbés, *with the mitre upon their heads, and the croſs in their hands.* A croſs was fixed at every place where they ſtopped; there were ſeven of theſe, ſome of which have been removed; the firſt was near the Corporation of St. Chaumont: they were a ſort of ſtone pyramids, with the ſtatues of the three Kings, and a crucifix at top.

Philip the Fair, ſon and ſucceſſor of *Philip III.* fixed the ſeat of Parliament. It ſeems this Aſſembly begun from that time to enjoy the honour of carrying the bodies of the dead Kings, or the four corners of the pall. *The Members of Parliament bore the body of King* John *, *as they had been accuſtomed to do with the other Kings.*

The body of Jane de Bourbon, *wife to* Charles V. (ſays the ſame Chronicle,) *was placed upon a bed covered with cloth of gold; a piece of very*

* *Mſſ.* of *Peireſc.* Chronique de St. Denis.

very fine linnen *, *was ſpread over her face, but not ſo as to prevent its being ſeen; ſhe held in her right hand a ſmall rod with a roſe at the end of it, and a ſcepter in her left; the Provoſt of the Merchants and Sheriffs bore a ſcarlet Canopy, ſupported by four lances; the Parliament were round the bed, and four Preſidents held the corners of the cloth of gold.*

At the Funeral of *Charles VI.* they thought of incloſing the body in a Coffin §, and of making a wax effigy dreſſed in the royal robes and ornaments. I cannot diſcover any conſiderable alterations from that time in the ceremonies obſerved in the proceſſions and interments of our Kings.

. . . . † "The Gentlemen of the Univerſity, "all the Graduates in Arts, Medecine, Law, "Theology and other faculties, marched in "proceſſion. Mylord the Rector had propoſed "to bring the whole body of the Students,

 "amount-

* Hiſt. de l'Abbaye de St. Denis, par *D. Felibien*, Lib. V. p. 289.

§ *Charles VII.*'s Coffin was, according to *Monſtrelet*, made of Cypreſs. The Church of Notre Dame was hung with cloth, of a mixt colour between green and blue. The Abbeſs of Montmartre and her Nuns came out of their Convent, and ſaluted the body in the Village of la Chapelle. Vide *Matthieu de Couci.*

† Pompe Funebre de *Charles VIII.*

" amounting to upwards of 25,000; but to " avoid confuſion, only theſe Graduates were " allowed to walk, amounting in all to bet- " ween four and five thouſand.

" . . . . The twenty-four Salt-Porters of the " City, called *Hannoüars*, marched; who ſaid " that they had a privilege to carry the body of " the ſaid Lord the King *, from Paris to the " hanging croſs, near St. Denis; but it was " told them, that the Gentlemen of the Cham- " ber ſhould carry it, without prejudice how- " ever to the privileges of the ſaid *Hannoüars.*

Upon what foundation could they lay claim to this privilege? The following is my conjecture: The art of embalming bodies was loſt; they were cut to pieces and ſalted §, after being boiled in water ‖, to ſeparate the bones from the fleſh; probably the ſalt-carriers were appointed

* They had carried the bodies of *Charles VI. Charles VII.* and *Henry IV. De Thou*, Tom. XV. Book III.

§ *Henry V.* King of England, and pretended King of France, dying at Vincennes, in the Month of *April*, 1422, his body was cut to pieces and boiled in a caldron, till the fleſh ſeparated from the bones. The water was thrown into a burying ground, and the bones and fleſh put into a leaden coffer, with ſeveral kinds of ſpice, and things odoriferous and well ſcented. *J. Juvenal des Urſins.*

‖ This water was thrown with much devotion into a burying ground.

ed for theſe coarſe and barbarous operations, and obtained the honour of carrying theſe ſhocking fragments (which was through pride diſputed) to reſt.

. . . . " * Sixteen Gentlemen of the Cham-
" ber, marched, carrying the Litter or bed of
" State, which conſiſted of a matraſs, a large
" Holland ſheet, a large black velvet cloth con-
" taining fifty ells, and a piece of gold cloth
" containing twenty-five ells. Upon this bed
" lay the figure or effigy of the King § in wax,
" with the crown upon its head, a ſcepter in
" the right hand, and a rod of juſtice in the
" left; on the legs were buſkins of ſilver ſtuff
" embroidered with gold, and the ſoles of crim-
" ſon ſattin; two large pillows of gold cloth
" were placed, the one under the head, and the
" other under the feet. The ſhirt was of the
" fineſt linnen, embroidered with a border of
" black ſilk; over the ſhirt was an under waiſt-
" coat of crimſon, the ſleeves of which were
" ſeen no farther down than the elbows, the
" reſt

* Pompe Funebre de *Louis XII. François I. Henri II. Charles IX. & Henri IV.*

§ As ſoon as the King's death was confirmed by the Phyſicians, an application of wax was immediately made to his face in order to take off a ſtriking reſemblance. Several of theſe effigies are preſerved in the Abbey of St. Denis.

" reſt being covered with a tunic, made of ſky-
" blue ſattin, richly embroidered with gold
" and ſilver, and interſperſed with golden Flow-
" ers de luce; the ſleeves of this tunick did not
" extend beyond the elbows. Over the whole
" was the Royal Mantle of crimſon violet velvet
" bordering upon blue, covered with golden
" Flowers de luce; there were no ſleeves to this
" Mantle, which was open before and lined with
" ermine; the cape was alſo of ermine, and
" turned over about the width of ten inches.

The Coffin which contained the Body was uſually under the ſtate-bed, and ſometimes in a chariot drawn by ſix horſes which preceded it.

. . . . " Four Preſidents à Mortier, dreſſed in
" their Royal robes, ſupported the four corners
" of the pall of the ſaid ſtate-bed, and all the
" Gentlemen of the Parliament were round it,
" dreſſed in ſcarlet. The Canopy was bore by
" the Provoſt of the Merchants and the Sheriffs.
" The grand Equerry, having the Royal ſword
" in a ſling, marched before the ſtate-bed,
" mounted on a ſteed, caparaconed with black
" velvet, and carrying a large croſs of white
" ſattin. Before the grand Equerry, marched
" the *horſe of honour*, with a velvet ſaddle of a
" violet colour, gilt ſtirrups, and a caparaſon of
" the ſame velvet covered with golden Flowers

" de

" de luce; two Equerries on foot, dreſſed in " black, and four footmen dreſſed alſo in black " and bareheaded, held up the four corners of " his caparaſon.

This *horſe of honour*, with theſe two Equerries, and four bare-headed footmen accompanying it, ſeem to me to have a good deal of reſemblance to the horſe and domeſtics which were killed and buried with the Kings of the firſt Race, before they had embraced Chriſtianity. My notion will not perhaps appear ſo very ſingular, when it is conſidered that offerings were made of horſes. In a tranſaction of the year 1329, between the Curates of Paris §, and the Church of St. Sepulchre, it is ſaid that a dying perſon ſhall be at liberty to chuſe his grave in that Church; but that his body ſhall be immediately carried to the Pariſh Church wherein he died, and the Curate of that Pariſh ſhall have half of the lights, *clothes and horſes*, (*Pannis & equis*) which ſhall be preſented at the offering upon the burial at St. Sepulchre's. *Nangis*'s Continuator ſays, that King *John*, dying at London, *Edward III.* ordered a magnificent ſervice for him, and preſented at the offering § ſeveral valuable horſes with black capa-

§ Hiſt. du Dioceſe de Paris, par l'Abbé *le Bœuf*, Tom. I. p. 270.

§ *Offerens pro eo multos equos inſignitos armis Franciæ, cum equitibus.* Guil. Nangii Continuat.

caparaſons and Eſcutcheon of France. At the ſervice performed at St. Denis, in 1389, for *Bertrand Dugueſclin*, by order of *Charles VI.* Biſhop of Auxerre, who celebrated Maſs, deſcended from the Altar after the Goſpel, and placing himſelf at the door of the Choir, four Knights armed cap-à-pee, and in the armour of the late Conſtable *Dugueſclin*, whom they repreſented; they were followed by four others carrying his banners, and mounted upon horſes caparaconed with black, with his Atchievement: They were, ſays the hiſtorian, the fineſt horſes of the King's ſtable *. *The Biſhop received the preſent of the horſes, by putting his hand upon their head; they were then led away, but a compoſition was afterwards to be made for the right of the Abbey to which they had devolved.* The Conſtable *de Cliſſon*, and the two Marſhals (*Lewis de Sancerre* and *Mouton de Blainville*) alſo made their offerings, accompanied by eight Lords, each bearing an Eſcutcheon of the Arms of the deceaſed, ſurrounded with lighted wax tapers. After theſe came the Duke of Touraine, brother to the King, *John*, Count de Nevers, brother to the Duke of Burgundy, the Prince of Navarre, and *Henry* de Bar, each holding a naked ſword by the

* Hiſt. de l'Abbaye de St. Denis, par *D. Felibien*, Lib. VI. p. 414.

the point. In the third rank marched four other Lords, armed cap-à-pee, and conducted by eight young Equerries, ſome of whom carried helmets, and others Pennons and Banners of the arms of *Dugueſclin.* They all went and proſtrated themſelves at the foot of the Altar, where they depoſited *theſe pieces of honour.*

It is not to be doubted that theſe ceremonies were handed down by tradition. *Cæſar* and *Tacitus* relate, that the Gauls and Germans burned, or interred with the deceaſed, his arms and horſes. The Druids might have ſaved the lives of ſo many poor horſes, and turned them to account: Did the darkneſs of Paganiſm render them blind to their own intereſt?

Lewis XIII. died at St. Germain en Laye; his body was not brought to Paris; ſo that his funeral was not attended with all that ſtriking and majeſtical pomp and parade of his predeceſſors; but the ſame ceremonies were in either reſpects obſerved at his interment. When Maſs was finiſhed, the Maſter of the Ceremonies introduced the firſt Preſident and the Preſidents *de Novion*, *de Meſmes* and *de Bailleul*, to ſupport the four corners of the pall. Twenty-four of the Company of Scotch guards, commanded by a Lieutenant and an Exempt, having carried the body into the Vault, the King at arms approached

ed the entrance, and threw in his hood and coat of arms, and then cried with a loud voice, *Heralds at arms of France, come and do your offices.* Each of them having taken off his hood and coat of arms, and thrown them into the vault, he next ordered *Orleans*, Herald at Arms to deſcend, and range *all the pieces of honour*, which were to be brought to him, and which were called for in the following order;

M. *de Bouillon*, bring the Enſign of the hundred Swiſs of the guards, whereof you have charge.

M. *de Baroche*, Lieutenant of the King's guards, in the abſence of M. le Comte *de Charoſt*, bring the Enſign of the hundred Archers of the guards, whereof you have charge.

M. *de Rebais*, in the abſence of M. *de Villequier*, bring the Enſign of the hundred Archers of the Guards, whereof you have charge.

M. d'*Ivoy*, in the abſence of M. le Comte *de Treſmes*, bring the Enſign of the hundred Archers of the guards, whereof you have charge.

M. *Ceton*, in the abſence of M. *de Champdenier*, bring the Enſign of the hundred Archers of the Scotch guards, whereof you have charge.

The Equerry, M. *de la Boulidiere*, bring the ſpurs.

The

The Equerry M. *de Poitrincour*, bring the Gauntlets.

The Equerry M. *de Vantelet*, bring the King's Escutcheon.

The Equerry M. *de Belleville*, bring the Coat of Arms.

M. *le Premier*, bring the Helmet, with the Royal Crest.

M. *de Beaumont*, first carver, bring the King's Pennon.

The Grand Equerry, bring the Royal Sword.

The great and first Chamberlain, bring the Banner of France.

The Grand Master and chief of the Procession, come and do your office.

M. the Duke of *Luynes*, bring the rod of justice.

M. the Duke of *Ventadour*, bring the Royal Scepter.

M. the Duke of *Urez*, bring the Royal Crown.

These three Dukes brought the rod of justice, the Scepter, and Crown, upon black velvet cushions, and the King at arms received them on a large piece of Taffety. *Orleans*, Herald at arms placed them upon the Coffin with the other *pieces of honour*, above specified, except

the

the Royal ſword, which the Grand Equerry always held by the pummel, putting only the point of it into the vault. The great Chamberlain put in only the end of the Banner of France.

Sixteen Stewards appointed for the purpoſe, having thrown into the vault their wands covered with crape, the Duke *de la Trimouille*, performforming the functions of great Maſter of the King's Houſhold for the Prince of Condé, put in the end of his wand, ſaying, *the King is dead.* The King at Arms turning towards the people, repeated in a loud voice, *the King is dead, the King is dead, the King is dead, let us pray for the repoſe of his ſoul.* After a pauſe of ſome moments, the Duke *de la Trimouille* ſaid, *live the King*; and immediately thereupon, the King at Arms cried aloud, *Live the King, Live the King, Live the King* Lewis XIV. *by name, King of France and Navarre.* The grand Chamberlain raiſed again the Banner of France; the grand Equerry, the Royal ſword; and the grand Maſter of the King's Houſhold, his wand; the Church re-echoed with the ſound of trumpets, kettle drums, fifes and hautboys; every one retired and went to dinner. The Dean of the King's Almoners (in the place of the grand Almoner) ſaid grace at the tables of the grand Maſter and Parliament, and after giving

giving thanks, the King's muſic ſung a *Laudate*, at the end of the ſame tables. Laſt of all, the Prince of Condé, as Grand Maſter, in preſence of the Parliament, ſummoned all the Officers of the King's houſhold, and broke his wand *, ſaying to thoſe Officers that the houſe was broke up, and that they were now to provide for themſelves; promiſing them at the ſame time his good offices with their new maſter, and that he would endeavour to re-eſtabliſh them in their former poſts and employments.

The funerals of our Kings do not uſually take place till forty days after their deceaſe; their effigy in wax is, during theſe forty days, expoſed to the ſight of the people, upon a bed of ſtate §, and in all the grandeur of majeſty; their tables continue to be ſerved at the hours of repaſt, as if they were ſtill living: "the table "being decked by the Officers of the wood-"yard, and the ſervice brought by the Gentle-"men in waiting, the Pantler ‖, Cup-bearer, "and

* The grand Almoner, ſays M. *de Thou*, (Tom. XV. Lib. III. p. 112, &c.) ſaid a prayer before and after the repaſt, at the Parliament's table; and the grand Maſter of the King's houſhold there, broke his wand, to ſignify that the functions of his office were at an end by the death and burial of the King; he afterwards took up another wand, and cauſed the Herald to cry, *Live the King*.

§ The body is underneath, embalmed in a leaden Coffin.

‖ Memoire de l'Etat de France, P. III, p. 374.

" and Carver, with the Uſher marching before " them, followed by the Officers of the retreat " of the goblet, who cover the table with the " uſual bows and formalities; then after the " bread is eat and prepared, and the meat and " ſervice conducted by an Uſher, a Maitre d'Ho- " tel, a Pantler, Pages of the Chamber, an " Equerry of the Kitchen, and Keeper of the " Plate; the napkin for wiping hands is preſent- " ed by the ſaid Maitre d'Hôtel to the moſt " conſiderable Lord preſent, that he may offer " the ſame to the Lord the King; the table is " bleſſed by a Cardinal or other Prelate; the " water baſons to waſh are preſented at the arm " chair of the ſaid Lord the King, as if he was " ſtill living and ſeated therein; the three ſer- " vices of the ſaid table are continued with the " ſame formalities, ceremonies, and homage, " not forgetting to tender the Cup at the times " the ſaid Lord the King uſed to drink during " his life: the repaſt is finiſhed in the uſual " manner, by bringing him water, and grace " is ſaid according to cuſtom, ſave only that " the *De profondis* is added."

All this ceremony was, doubtleſs, dictated by our love for our Kings. We endeavour to divert our ſorrow; and fancy that we bring them to

to life again, by continuing to ſerve them, when they no longer exiſt.

* At the funeral ceremonies of the Romans, a Mime was engaged, who was nearly of the ſame height and figure as the deceaſed, and who ſometimes counterfeited ſo well his air, countenance, geſtures, that it ſeemed as if he himſelf walked in the proceſſion.

Amongſt the accounts of expence of the houſe of Polignac, in the year 1375, we find an article of *five ſols paid to* Blaiſe, *for having perſonated the deceaſed Knight, at the interment of* John, *ſon to* Randonnet Armand, *Viſcount of Polignac.*

Such Knights as died in their beds, were repreſented upon their Tombs, without a ſword, and their coat of arms without a belt, with their eyes cloſed, and their feet ſupported upon the back of a greyhound; whereas Knights that were ſlain in battle, were repreſented with a drawn ſword in their hand, a ſhield upon their left arm, a helmet upon their head with the viſor down, the coat of arms belted on the armour with a ſaſh or belt, and a lion at their feet.

I do not know whether a Canon, who is frequently mentioned in the Regiſters of the Cathedral of Evreux, under the name of *John Bouteille*, died

* *Suet. in Veſpaſian.*

died with a bottle in his hand; but we ſee by theſe Regiſters, that he founded a Dirge, accompanied with a very particular ceremony: * whilſt this Dirge was ſinging, a pall was extended upon the pavement, in the middle of the choir, at the four corners of which were placed four bottles filled with the beſt wine, and a fifth in the middle, all for the benefit of the ſingers who aſſiſted at this ſervice.

Lewis de Beaumont de la Foreſt, Biſhop of Paris, who died in 1492, deſired § by his will, that the grave wherein he ſhould be buried in the Cathedral, might be filled with earth brought from the Church-yard des Innocens. This doubtleſs was from a principal of humility, can there be any ſort of pride in rotting in any ſoil whatever?

If through love or reſpect, the table of a dead man continued to be ſerved; ſometimes, on the other hand, out of diſreſpect, a man was buried whilſt alive. In 1523, Captain *Frauget*, Governor of Fonrarabia, having ſhamefully given up that place to the Spaniards, was condemned to be degraded from his Nobility. He was armed cap-à-pee, and was obliged to mount upon a ſcaffold, where 12 Prieſts, ſeated in

* Memoire pour ſervir à la fête des Foux, p. 31.

§ *Gallia Chriſti*, Tom. VII. Col. 154.

in their ſurplices, began to ſing *the Vigils of the dead*, after having read to him the ſentence, whereby he was pronounced a *traitor*, *diſloyal*, *a villain*, *and a liar*. At the end of each pſalm, they made a pauſe, during which period, a Herald at Arms diveſted him of ſome part of his armour, calling out with a loud voice, *this is the helmet of a coward*, *this his corſlet*, *this his ſhield*, &c. When the laſt pſalm was over, a baſon full of boiling water was emptied upon his head; then he was let down from the ſcaffold by a cord that was tied under his armpits; after this he was placed upon a hurdle, and covered with a pall, and in this manner was carried to Church, where the twelve Prieſts ſurrounded him and ſung over him the pſalm of *Deus laudem meam ne tacueris*, which comprehends ſeveral imprecations againſt Traytors. He was then left at liberty to go and ſurvive his infamy.

Cenſing.

In the Metropolitan Church of St. Andrew of Bourdeaux, at the betrothing of Madame *Eliſabeth* of France, October 18, 1615, with Don *Philip*, Prince of Spain, who was repreſented by the Duke of Guiſe, *the Altar and his Lordſhip the Cardinal de Sourdis were cenſed*, *and*

not the King; *his Majeſty's Chaplains ſaying, that formerly Kings were poiſoned by this method of perfuming with frank-incenſe, and that where the King is, even the Altar ſhould not be cenſed* *.

On the 25th of November following, in the ſame Cathedral, at the marriage of *Lewis XIII.* with *Ann* of Auſtria, the Biſhop of Xaintes, officiating, *neither the Altar nor the King was cenſed, and the Sieur de Boulogne, the eldeſt of his Majeſty's Chaplains ſaid, that the King might ſometimes be cenſed, not near, but at a diſtance* §.

† At the Entry of the ſame Prince into the City of Troyes, January 25th. 1629, *Meſſieurs the Provoſt and Subdean, at the porch of the Cathedral, carried each of them a Cenſer which contained fire, but no incenſe.*

Conſtables.

There have been four Conſtables of the houſe of Montmorenci; *Matthew de Montmorenci*, in 1139; *Matthew II. de Montmorenci*, 1218; *Anne de Montmorenci* in 1538, and *Henry de Montmorenci*, in 1593. *Matthew de Montmorenci*,

* Extrait des Archives de l'Egliſe de Bourdeaux, and a Mſſ. in the King's Library.

§ Ibid.

† Annales de la ville de Troyes, par *Huget*, Chanoine de St. Etienne, and a Mſſ. in the King's Library.

renci married *Alice* of Savoy, *Lewis* the Fat's widow; and *Henry de Montmorenci*, whilſt he was very young being ſtill called only the Duke Damville, would have wedded *Mary Stuart*, Queen of Scotland, and widow of *Francis II*, if he had not been already married. This Queen ſo little concealed her inclination for him, and the pleaſure ſhe would have had in offering him her hand and Crown, that a man who was attached to this Lord, and knew he had no great fondneſs for his wife, was abandoned enough to offer his ſervice to poiſon her; he baniſhed this wicked man from him, teſtifying all the horror which ſuch a propoſal had inſpired him with.

Chancellors.

Guerin, Knight of the Order of Jeruſalem, was appointed Keeper of the Seals in 1202, and Biſhop of Senlis in 1213. He ranged *Philip Auguſtus*'s army in battle at *Bovines*, and was created Chancellor in 1223. At that time, when the Chancellor travelled, he had no more allowed for himſelf and retinue, than ſeven ſols a day; and even theſe ſeven ſols were not allowed him, when he lodged in Abbeys and other places where he paid nothing.

Peter Flote, Chancellor and Keeper of the Seals, fought valiantly at the battle of Courtray, in 1302, where he was killed.

In the Church of St. Catherine, in the ſtreet Coulture St. Catherine, the Chancellor d'Orgemont, who died in 1389, is repreſented upon his tomb, dreſſed in a coat of mail, with a ſword by his ſide, and a helmet at his feet.

In 1452, at the Entry of the Count of Dunois into Bourdeaux, "* a white pad covered "with crimſon velvet, and having upon his crup- "per a cloth made of azure coloured velvet "with golden flowers de luce, walked gently "along between a chafewax and a footman; "upon the ſaddle of this pad there was a ſmall "trunk, covered with azure coloured velvet, "and ornamented with gold, wherein were "the King's ſeals; § then *William Juvenal des "Urſins*, Chancellor of France, marched, ar- "med with a rich ſteel corſelet, having over it "a crimſon velvet coat."

Peter de la Foreſt, after having for a long time practiſed as a Counſellor, was created Biſhop of Tournay in 1349, Chancellor of France the ſame year; Biſhop of Paris the year following; Archbiſhop of Rouen in 1352, and Cardinal

* Mſſ. in the King's Library.

§ *Belleforeſt*, Book V.

dinal in 1356. The ſalary of Chancellor was at that time 2000 Livres; he wanted to finger the money; the Chamber of Accounts refuſed to paſs his receipt upon the Accounts, becauſe he was a Biſhop, and at that time it was expreſſed in the royal Ordonnances, that Prelates who filled any Poſts or Employments at Court, were ſufficiently recompenſed by the revenue of their Livings. In 1354, this Biſhop, this Archbiſhop, this Chancellor, purchaſed the Eſtate and Caſtellany of la Loupelande in the Country of Maine: as this was a noble fief, and as at that time ſuch fiefs could not be poſſeſſed by any perſons but thoſe that were noble, he was obliged to aſk for Letters of Nobility. *La Roque* obſerves in his Treatiſe upon Nobility, that the Prelates, fighting inceſſantly forces againſt the Prince of darkneſs, ſhould now enjoy perſonal nobility, the ſame as all Officers do, who are not born Gentlemen, & who fight for the defence of their Country.

The Chancellor *du Prat*, becoming a widower, took to the Church to enrich himſelf; he was Biſhop of Gap, of Valence, of Meaux, of Albi, Archbiſhop of Sens, and Cardinal. Some Hiſtorians aſſert, that after the death of *Clement VII.* he had thoughts of obtaining the Holy See; that *Francis I.* to whom he mentioned the af-

fair, having anſwered him, it would coſt too much, he replied, he could furniſh 400000 Crowns; that *Francis I.* being filled with indignation at this, ſent the next morning to *du Prat*, for the 400,000 Crowns, and had them carried to the Treaſury.

The Chancellor never wears mourning, becauſe as a Stateſman, he ſhould be inſenſible to all private affections and afflictions.

The Chamber of Accounts.

The Officers of this Chamber, formerly wore a pair of large Sciſſars at their girdle, to ſignify the power they have of cutting off and retrenching the ſuperfluous Articles in the Accompts which are preſented to them.

The great Council.

At the concluſion of the laſt Audience, at the end of Lent, the Preſident riſes, and goes to the Regiſter's table, where taking up dice, and a box, he begins to throw, and then puts them round ſucceſſively to the Counſellors, Advocates, Sollicitors, Uſhers, and even to the Footmen who continue playing till night. I have aſked ſeveral Counſellors and Advocates, what was the origin of this cuſtom.

Fairs.

Fairs.

There are four Fairs in Paris: the Fair of St. *Germain*, the Fair of St. *Lawrence*, the Fair of the Temple, and the Fair of the Hams, *au Parvis de Notre Dame:* they all four belong to the Clergy. The two firſt continuing for ſome weeks, have always attracted a great number of Buffoons, Jugglers, Rope-Dancers, Puppet-Players, *&c.*

In the accounts and calculations made in 1376, and other years, the Lord of Bethiſi declares to *Blanche* of France, widow of *Philip* of Orleans, *that the common women who come to Bethiſi during the Fair, owe him four deniers of Paris, and that this tax formerly produced him ten ſols of Paris every year, but that it did not now amount to more than five ſols, the number of thoſe that came being decreaſed.*

The Hotel of the Comedians in ordinary to the King, ſupported by His Majeſty.

A Shopkeeper whom I frequently purchaſed things of, deſired me one day to go into his back ſhop. He told me he had juſt been reading a diſſertation againſt public Diverſions, which gave him great uneaſineſs on account of his profeſſion.

He ſeemed ſo greatly affected and terrified, and preſſed me ſo much to aſſiſt him in writing a letter to his Curate, that I at laſt conſented. This letter has appeared in the papers of M. *Freron Année* littéraire 1759. p. 29. I have ſince made ſome alterations in it.

A Letter from a Dealer in gold and ſilver Stuffs to the Curate of ——

Sir,

I find ſuch an alarming reſemblance between the profeſſion of a Player and my own, that I am fearful my trade, though I carry it on with the moſt ſcrupulous probity, will prove an obſtacle to my ſalvation. You repeatedly tell me, Sir, that the Theatre diſplays pageantry, magnificence, the vain glory of the world, and all the pomp of Satan; that it inſpires pride, jealouſy, and an inordinate taſte for dreſs; that it is oppoſite to humility, charity, diſintereſtedneſs, and the love of one's neighbour. A tradeſman, Sir, is preciſely in the ſame ſituation; he deſires nothing but luxury; his ſchemes and deſigns tend only to ſupport it, and by ingenious reſources to excite ſelf-love in his fellow-citizens, who are ſlaves to faſhion, which impoveriſhes them. It even ſeems to me that the ſtate of an Actor is

leſs

leſs dangerous than mine; he cannot reprove himſelf with ruining families; the reaſonable price which it coſts to amuſe one's ſelf for ſome hours at public diverſions, prevents conſiderable expences which other amuſements might create; it obviates ſhocking diſorders of various kinds. Moreover Dramatic performances are replete with ſtrokes againſt the vain-glorious, the oſtentatious, the prodigal, Petit-maitres, and Coxcombs; whereas the tradeſman muſt flatter theſe vices, and wiſh them to grow and propagate inceſſantly throughout Europe. How many families are annihilated, how many eſtates diſpoſed of, how many children robbed of their patrimony, becauſe unthinking fathers have thought proper to attract the public attention by the impoſing appearance of fine cloaths and ſuperb equipages! Victims to a boyiſh and cruel vanity, the ſons of Gentlemen often live in miſery, and in that contempt which attends it.

Theſe are not the only evils which may be imputed to the Tradeſman. Indigent vanity becomes ingenious in its reſources. A young man who wants to take upon him an air of importance, cannot appear in the world without being externally magnificent. The limits of his fortune, or the wiſe moderation of a father, will not allow him to give a looſe to his taſte; in order

to gratify it, he muſt either rob his relations, dupe his creditors, or have recourſe to ſuch means as are ſtill more ſhameful.

The trade of a Shopkeeper in my branch, you will ſay, is the more allowable, as a great number of people are obliged, leſs by their birth than by their ſituation, to make a figure, and therefore muſt wear thoſe Stuffs, the ſale of which I fear will run counter to my ſalvation. This reflection, Sir, might ſecure me, if there were edicts in France, as there are in ſome republics, which fixed the dreſs of every ſtation; but in Paris and the Provinces, where people of different ranks are confounded by opulence, we are not leſs the ſecondary cauſes of all the evils which ſpring from immoderate luxury.

The ſtage, you will add, is a public place, where for money, vice is repreſented with all its blandiſhments. Ah! Sir, is not my ſhop, like the Theatre, an open receptacle to every one for money? If I have not the criminal art of rendering vice amiable, I ſell that, which almoſt always conduces to it. A fine gown often becomes the object of a young perſon's deſires, only to procure her ruin. How many girls ſacrifice their honour to their vanity! How many of them would not live if it were not to dreſs, who

dreſs

dreſs only to pleaſe, and who pleaſe only to be ſeduced!

Public Repreſentations, you inſiſt, are the rocks which moſt young people ſplit upon, becauſe the actreſſes unite with ſeducing talents, the dangerous charms of a figure which art and nature concur to render engaging: hence ariſe deſires, and deſires alone may ruin the moſt virtuous man. But is not the danger ſtill greater in entering a ſhop, where an amiable woman and pretty girls, ſet off with all the refinements of coquetry, ſeem to lay a ſnare, in which the moſt auſtere wiſdom has more than once been caught? A ſingle advertiſement determines us to ſee a play: this is a voluntary ſtep which every citizen is at liberty to take. How far more powerful are the perſuaſives uſed by us! Enchanting Syrens, placed deſignedly on each ſide of our ſhops, and thoſe of Milleners, attract the multitude by a prepoſſeſſing face, flattering looks, and agreeable ſpeeches. The ſeduced paſſenger flies to the vice that charms him; and if his deſires are not attended with criminal conſequences, we render him guilty however, by engaging him to apply to uſeleſs and frivolous purchaſes, the patrimony of his children, and the accumulated wages of his ſervants.

Another difference there is in favour of the Theatre, which is, that men and women purchaſe ſtuffs of new patterns every ſeaſon, whereby they are rendered leſs able to aſſiſt the poor, whereas the Actors daily contribute to their ſupport.

I am ſenſible, Sir, that the Prince protects our Trade, and therefore it ſhould ſeem we may carry it on with a ſafe Conſcience. But, Sir, the Prince protects the Actors alſo, allows them Penſions, and publickly declares it, and yet you anathematize them.

Our ſilk Stuffs are ſold for the taſte of our patterns, throughout the Univerſe, and conſequently bring a great deal of money into the Kingdom. On the other hand, how many Millions have *Corneille*, *Moliere*, and *Racine* been worth to France! Their works are bought and read in every part of Europe, they have rendered our Language the univerſal Tongue; we are, thanks to their maſterly Productions, become the model for all other Nations: ſince that period Foreigners have reſorted to Paris, where they expend immenſe ſums.

You ſee, Sir, that the Actor is as uſeful to the State as the Tradeſman. I think I have proved that the latter does not agitate the paſſions leſs than the former, but that he even excites them more.

more. Theſe reaſons combined make me conclude, that if Players ought to be baniſhed from the Congregation of the Faithful, Tradeſmen, ſuch as I, ought to fear the ſame reprobation. I beg you would inform me whether my ſcruples are well or ill founded, and if I may as a Chriſtian continue my trade, or whether I ſhould give it up. I know Sir, that I am intended for Sheriff next year; but a Sheriff is not greater before God than another man, and what is the glory of this world, when our ſalvation in the other is in queſtion! I am moſt reſpectfully, Sir,

Your moſt humble

and moſt obedient ſervant,

M * * *.

P. S. I was laſt Sunday at our Pariſh-Church, the Daughters of M------, the rich Financier were there; their gowns (though to be ſure their father's fortune enables them to wear the moſt expenſive) excited a general murmur, and a very indecent tattle in Church. Says one, *See, they are dreſſed as magnificently as Princeſſes.* *Ay*, ſays another, *it is not above* 20 *years ſince their father, who was ſon to a valet de Chambre, was only an under clerk with a ſalary of* 800 *livres. Is not this*, ſays a third, *inſulting our public diſtreſſes?*

In

In a word, Sir, I doubt whether any ſcene in any comedy whatever could occaſion more ſin than theſe Ladies gowns, by all the ſcandal that they gave birth to. I ſold the ſilk: an Actor makes the moſt of his part; if he is guilty, am not I ſo too?

The Hotel of the Invalids.

I have ever been ſurpriſed that *Lewis XIVth.* did not unite with the idea of this ſuperb Edifice, that of conſecrating a place, where one might have ſeen the monuments and ſtatues of thoſe Generals, who under his reign and thoſe of his ſucceſſors, might have conducted the armies of the nation with the greateſt glory. Where could they be more honourably interred than in the midſt of thoſe aged ſoldiers, the companions of their labours, who, like themſelves, had laviſhly ſpilt their blood in the cauſe of their country?

The equeſtrian Statue of Henry IV.

Under the firſt, ſecond and third race, till the reign of *Lewis XIII.* if the ſtatue of a King was produced, it was only to be placed upon his tomb, or at the porch of ſome Church or royal-houſe,

houſe, which he had cauſed to be built or repaired. The equeſtrian Statue of *Henry IV.* erected upon the Pontneuf, *Auguſt* 23, 1624, is the firſt general and public monument of the kind raiſed in Paris to the glory of our Monarchs. I ſhould not have put either the trophies of arms, or the ſlaves chained to the four corners of the pedeſtal, nor thoſe inſcriptions which are upon the four ſides in praiſe of this Prince: I ſhould ſimply have put HENRY IV.

The Church of St. Pierre aux bœufs.

In the reign of *Lewis XII.* a ſcholar named *Hemon de la Foſſe*, a native of Abbeville, by reading and admiring the Greek and Latin authors caught ſuch a phrenzy, as to perſuade himſelf, that it was impoſſible the religion of ſuch great genius's as Homer, Cicero, and Virgil, ſhould not be true. On the 23d of *Auguſt*, 1503, being in the holy Chapel, he ſnatched the hoſt from the hands of the prieſt in the inſtant of its elevation, ſaying, *What always this folly?* His execution was put off for ſeveral days, in hopes that he would abjure his extravagant errors, and acknowledge his crime; but all the repreſentations and exhortations that were made to him were fruitleſs; he ſtill perſiſted in maintaining that

Jupiter

Jupiter was the ſovereign God of the univerſe, and that there was no other Paradiſe than the Elyſian Fields. He was burnt alive, after his tongue had been bored, and his hand cut off. I have heard it related, that at the ſolemn Proceſſion which was made as a reparation for this ſacrilegeous deed of the Scholar, two oxen which were conducting to the ſlaughter-houſe of the Hotel-Dieu, and which were then at the porch of the Pariſh Church of St. Pierre, fell down upon their knees before the Holy Sacrament, and that the two ſtone figures of oxen, in Relievo, which are * ſeen upon this Church Porch, are a monument of this miracle. This is certain, that long before this Proceſſion took place, this Church of St. *Pierre aux bœufs*, was ſo called, being the Pariſh Church of the City butchers, they had theſe two figures of oxen affixed upon the Porch.

The Church of St. Marine.

The marriage ceremony of ſuch perſons, as are condemned to wedlock, is performed in this Church. They were in ancient times married with a ſtraw ring; was this to ſignify to the huſband, that the virtue of her he was going to marry

* They have lately been taken down.

marry was very frail? This was neither polite, nor charitable.

Convents of Religious Mendicants.

Study to do your own buſineſs, ſays St. Paul, (1 Theſſ. ch. iv. 11.) *and to work with your own hands, as we command you.*

Neither did we eat any man's bread for nought, ſays the ſame Apoſtle (2. Theſſ. iii, 8, 10,) *but wrought with labour, and travel night and day, that we might not be chargeable to any one of you. We commanded you, that if any would not work, neither ſhould he eat.*

Albert, Patriarch of Jeruſalem, in the rule he laid down to the Carmelites about the year 1209, particularly enjoined them retirement, ſilence, and continual work.

* *I laboured with my hands,* ſays St. *Francis* in his will; *I will continue to do ſo, and I earneſtly deſire that all the brethren apply themſelves to ſome honeſt work, and that thoſe who know not how to work, may learn.*

We want to build, ſays St. *Bonaventure*; *we are no longer contented with thoſe poor and ſimple dwellings which are preſcribed to us by our Rule.--We are a burthen to all the world, and we ſhall be*

* Hiſt. Eccleſiaſtique de *Fleuri*, Anno 1226.

be ſtill more ſo hereafter, if we continue to go on at this rate.

It may be ſaid, that the Fairy Tales, where by the ſingle ſtroke of a wand, a palace riſes, are realized by the virtue of the wallet.

Lewis XIV. judging that the expences which the Mendicant Friars were at in building, as well for the decoration of their Monaſteries, as for the increaſe of their revenues, were contrary to the ſanctity of their rules and the police of the State; forbad them, by his Declaration of the 5th of *September*, 1684, on pain of being deprived of their privileges, to undertake any building, the expence whereof ſhould exceed the ſum of 15,000 Livres, without having obtained leave by Letters Patent, ſigned with his hand, and counterſigned by one of the Secretaries of State, ſealed with the great Seal, and regiſtered in Parliament, with the uſual formalities. And with reſpect to thoſe buildings, the expence whereof ſhould be above 3000 Livres, and under 15,000 Livres, they were forbid to undertake them, without having firſt obtained leave by an Arret of Parliament.

Is it not extraordinary, that we ſhould be aſked alms to build houſes, which are to be let to us upon the deareſt terms, and the revenues of which can ſerve only to increaſe the number

of

of thoſe who remain in a ſtate of celibacy, to the prejudice of population, and the ſtrength of the State?

When the Peaſants of five or ſix villages are ordered to make or repair a highway, if three or four ſcore Mendicant Friars of the neareſt City, were to offer themſelves for this ſervice, what veneration would they not derive from it! Such kind of good works, methinks, would be more meritorious than walking about the ſtreets with naked legs.

The Hoſpital of the Quinze-Vingts.

St. *Lewis* founded it about the Year 1260, for 300 blind beggars. It is abſolutely falſe, that it was founded in favour of 300 Knights, whoſe eyes had been put out by the Saracens during their captivity in Egypt.

A *Quinze-Vingt* had two twin daughters, who were frequently taken one for the other; he diſtinguiſhed them at once by ſtroking their faces, and ſaid, without ever being miſtaken, this is *Louiſa*, and that is *Jenny*.

He knew by the ſenſe of ſmelling, when they were under a certain monthly predicament.

Being one morning a little out of order, he returned home ſooner than uſual; *Louiſa* was with

with a young fellow, whom ſhe had a regard for, and whom ſhe let out very ſoftly. But our blind man's hearing was full as nice as his ſmell and feeling; he took *Louiſa* by the hand, ſmelt her face and breaſt, and pretended he was certain ſhe had juſt been guilty of ſome act of lewdneſs; and as he was very brutal, he began to treat her in a very cruel manner, when the young fellow who had remained at the door, came in again, and told him he deſired nothing more than to marry his daughter, to whom he had plighted his faith, and that he hoped, if he enquired concerning his character, he would not refuſe him his requeſt: the blind man made inquiry accordingly, and finding he was a young fellow of good morals, and that he had a ſmall employment in an Office, he gave him *Louiſa*, with a dower of eleven thouſand Livres.

The Equeſtrian Statue in the Cathedral Church of Notre-Dame.

The Preſident *Heinaut* ſays, "that in commemoration of the victory which *Philip the Fair* gained over the Flemiſh at Mons in Puelle, *Auguſt* 18, 1304, an Equeſtrian Statue of that Prince was erected at the Church of Notre-Dame, and that he bequeathed to the

"Church

" Church of Notre Dame at Paris, a yearly in-
" come of 100 Livres. There have ariſen
" ſome miſtakes, (he adds,) concerning this
" monument, which ſome Authors, and amongſt
" others *Nicholas Gilles*, attribute to *Philip de*
" *Valois*; but to be convinced of the certainty
" of the thing, it is only neceſſary to read the
" Burial-regiſter of the Church of Notre Dame
" at Paris, or the 6th leſſon of the Breviary of
" Paris, where this victory is commemorated
" on the 18th of *Auguſt*, which was the day
" that the battle of Mons in Puelle was fought,
" whereas that of Caſſel happened on the 23d
" of *Auguſt*."

The Preſident *Heinaut* certainly did not remember, that an Hiſtorian, who was an eye-witneſs, and who has written the Hiſtory of his own time, from 1301, to 1340 *, talking of *Philip the Fair*, and of the battle of Mons in Puelle, ſimply ſays, that this Prince, as a thankſgiving for this victory, made foundations at Notre Dame, St. Denis, and ſeveral other Churches, whereas the ſame Hiſtorian making mention of *Philip de Valois* and the battle of Caſſel, ſays that *Philip de Valois*, upon his return into France, went to St. Denis, and afterwards to Notre Dame of Paris, where he mounted the ſame

* See *Continuat. Guill. de Nangis*, p. 616.

ſame horſe, and armed himſelf with the ſame arms he had at the battle, and preſented them as an offering to the holy Virgin: *Rex vero* (Philipus Valeſius) *in Francia exiſtens, beatum Dioniſium primitus devote & humiliter viſitavit, & poſtea ivit Pariſios, & Eccleſiam Beatæ Mariæ ingreſſus, coram imagine eiſdem armis quibus in bello armatus fuerat, ſe armari fecit & ſuper equum cui exiſtenti in bello inſederat, aſcenſus, Beatæ Mariæ cui ſe in hoc belli periculo facturum dona voverat, Eccleſiæ ejuſdem arma & equum deferens, devotiſſime præſentavit, eidem de tanti evaſione periculi gratias agens*.*

It is ſaid, that if in ſome Manuſcripts we find *ivit Pariſios*, in others it is written *ivit Carnutum*, that is to ſay, to Chartres, and that it was in the Church of Chartres, that *Philip* de Valois entered armed and on horſeback, as *Philip* the Fair had done twenty four years before, in the Cathedral Church of Paris. But is it natural that the cotemporary Hiſtorian of theſe two Princes, having related the action of *Philip* de Valois, would not have mentioned the ſame action done by *Philip* the Fair, eſpecially when he ſpeaks of the foundations which *Philip* the Fair made in commemoration and acknowledgment

* See *Continuat. Guill. de Nangis*, p. 737.

ment of the victory which he gained at Mons in Puelle?

Add to the teſtimony of this cotemporary hiſtorian, that of a manuſcript, which ſeems to be of the year 1360, marked H, and numbered 22, making part of the manuſcripts which the chapter of *Notre Dame* preſented to the King. It is there ſaid, "that Philip de Valois, after the battle "of Caſſel, in the year 1328, entered compleatly "armed upon his horſe, into the Church of our "Lady at Paris, and there offered her the ſaid "horſe and arms as an oblation, thanking her "for the victory which he had obtained by her "interceſſion; and that the ſaid King is repre-"ſented ſeated upon two pillars before the image "of the ſaid Lady, in the nave of the ſaid "Church."

To theſe authorities may be ſtill added that of the great chronicles of France, in manuſcript, anno 1380. Theſe ſay, *that Philip of Valois mounted upon his ſteed, and entered the church of our Lady at Paris, where he very devoutly thanked her, and preſented her the ſaid horſe on which he was mounted, and all his armour.*

With reſpect to the regiſter of burials belonging to the church of *Notre Dame* at Paris, mention is there ſimply made of a foundation of an income of a hundred livres, made by *Philip the Fair,*

Fair, as a thankſgiving for the victory he had gained at Mons in Puelle; and as it is not ſaid that this Prince entered the Church of *Notre-Dame* on horſeback, and that he there made an offering of his horſe and arms to the Virgin, this is a farther proof that it was not he, but *Philip de Valois*, who entered in that manner into this Church, and who made this offering. The marginal note in the regiſter is written in a very modern hand and ſtyle, and therefore proves nothing.

I agree that we find in the new Breviairies of Paris, * *Philipus Pulcher reverſus poſtea Lutetiam, in ejuſdem Baſilica pronao ſtatuam ſuam equeſtrem, eamque armatam, coram Beatæ Virginis imagine, in perenne collati beneficii monumentum erigi voluit.* But in the ancient Breviaries there are only theſe words, *in Eccleſiâ Pariſienſi, propter commemorationem victoriæ Philippi Pulchri fit duplum.* The three leſſons which were made and inſerted for *Philip the Fair*, in the new Breviaries are not only omitted, but on the contrary we find inſtead of them the two following ones:

Lectio

* 18 Auguſti infra octav. Aſſumpt.

Lectio Quinta.

† *Quod intelligens glorioſæ memoriæ Rex Philippus Valeſius, cum opitulante Deo per merita Beatæ Virginis Matris, inſignem victoriam de rebellibus Flandris obtinuiſſet, quæ contigit anno* 1328, *acturus Deo & ſanctæ Virgini gratias, triumphans & equitans Eccleſiam Beatæ Mariæ Pariſiis ingreſſus eſt, non vanâ oſtentatione elatus, ſed Deo, per quem de ancipiti bello evaſerat, profunda humilitate ſubjectus.*

Lectio Sexta.

Itaque & æquum & arma in quibus vicerat, glorioſiſſimæ Virgini devovit atque ut teſtimonium tanti beneficii poſteritati relinqueret, ſtatuit ut infra octavas aſſumptionis ejuſdem genetricis Dei, dies iſta duplo celebrior haberetur, & propter aſſumptionis Beatæ Mariæ ſolemnitatem, & propter tantæ victoriæ nullis abolendam temporibus memoriam.

It will, doubtleſs, be aſked, whence ariſe theſe alterations in the new Breviaries. I anſwer, that I do not know the reaſon; but evil minded people may be apt to imagine, that on account of the Annuity of a hundred Livres,

† Breviar. Eccleſiæ Pariſienſis. Feſta Auguſti anno 1584.

given by the foundation of *Philip* the Fair, to commemorate his victory, it was judged very proper that this Prince ſhould be remembered; and that on the other hand, *Philip* de Valois, who gave nothing to the Church but his horſe and his arms, might at length be forgotten.

In the account of the battle of Caſſel, it appears that the enemy's attack was ſudden and unexpected, but that *Philip* de Valois had time to put on one half of his armour and to mount his horſe; whereas at the battle of Mons in Puelle, *Philip* the Fair was ſurpriſed in his tent, and fought on foot till ſome Lords came to his aſſiſtance, when he had time to get on horſeback. Now, if he was deſirous to have his ſtatue placed at Notre-Dame, it is highly probable, he would have had himſelf repreſented on foot, as in the moment of the greateſt danger, and conſequently the moſt glorious for him. I make this remark in anſwer to what *Moreau de Mautour* ſays, who to ſupport his opinion, diſguiſes facts even to himſelf *.

From what I have ſaid, I imagine that the new Inſcription at Notre-Dame ought to be altered, and that *Rex Philippus Valeſius*, &c. ſhould be ſubſtituted in place of *Rex Philippus Pulcher*. Beſides, thoſe Critics are wrong, who object

* Memoires de l'Academie des Inſcriptions, Tom. III. p. 299.

object to this Inſcription, and ſay, that it is not likely a King ſhould enter a Church on horſe-back, becauſe it would have been too indecent. Such a criticiſm ſhews a man to be very little converſant in the ſtudy of our hiſtory, and of our ancient manners and cuſtoms: he would there find that at the funeral ſervice performed at St. Denis, in 1389, for *Bertrand Dugueſclin*, by order of *Charles VI.* the Knights who were chief mourners, entered the Church upon horſes capariſoned with black; and that the Biſhop who celebrated Maſs, came down from the Altar after reading the Goſpel, and placing himſelf at the door of the Choir, there received the offering of the horſes, by putting his hand upon their heads.

The Pariſh of St. Côme.

* The Marſhal *de Beaumanoir* being a hunting in a foreſt of Maine, in 1599, his ſervants brought a man to him, whom they found ſleeping in a hedge, whoſe figure was very remarkable. Upon the top of his forehead he had two horns, ſhaped and ſituated as thoſe of a ram; his head was quite bald, and under his chin he had a red beard that grew in tufts, reſembling

* *De Thou*, L. 123.

thoſe that ſatyrs are painted with. He was ſo much chagrined at being carried from fair to fair, that he died of grief at Paris, at the end of three months. He was interred in the Church-yard of this Pariſh, and over his grave an Epitaph was inſcribed, which is flat enough in all conſcience, but which was probably thought very ſmart at that time. * It was to the following purpoſe;

"In this retired corner lies a very extraordinary "cuckold; for ſuch he was, though never mar-"ried. Paſſenger, pray to God for his ſoul."

The Chapel called Notre-Dame of Loretto, at Iſſi.

§ In this Chapel the Gentlemen of the Seminary of St. Sulpitius, permit no one to ſay Maſs at the principal Altar with a *wig on*. All the Altars where our holy miſteries are celebrated, are equally reſpectable, if Maſs may be ſaid with a perriwig on at one, why may it not at another. Theſe little minute venerations are unworthy of true Religion.

The invention of periwigs is very ancient. The Phenicians at their feaſts for the funeral and reſur-

* Recueil d' Epitaphes. p. 67.

§ Hiſtoire du Diocèſe de Paris.

reſurrection of *Adonis*, were obliged to ſacrifice their hair to the Goddeſs *Derceto*, or *Venus*; women, however, might preſerve theirs, if they choſe it, by reſigning themſelves for the day, to the amorous intreaties of ſtrangers, who reſorted in great numbers to theſe feſtivals. The money they received as the price of their complaiſance, belonged and was conſecrated to the Goddeſs. A man invented periwigs for ſuch women as would not proſtitute themſelves, but who at the ſame time would have been very ſorry to part with their hair. The Prieſts inveighed bitterly againſt an invention ſo prejudicial to their intereſts, and periwigs were prohibited.

The Pariſh of St. Paul.

William de Vienne, at his death, ordered that the following Epitaph ſhould be inſcribed upon his tomb; *He was the father of John of Vienne.* His paternal affection muſt certainly have been flattered by the glory which his ſon acquired upon a variety of occaſions. *Charles V.* having created him Admiral of France in 1373, the deſcents which he made on England and Ireland, evinced that his invariable maxim was juſt, *that the Engliſh were no where weaker, nor more eaſily conquered than at home.* He was killed in

Bulgaria, *September* 26th 1396, at the head of the French troops, at the fatal battle of Nicopolis.

Nicholas Flamel.

In the firſt Edition of theſe Eſſays publiſhed in 1754, I obſerved that there were ſtill to be ſeen on one of the large ſide poſts of the houſe of *Nicholas Flamel*, his own figure and that of *Pernella* his wife, with Gothic inſcriptions and pretended hieroglyphics. The Author of an Eſſay towards a Hiſtory of the Pariſh of St. Jaques de la Boucherie, printed in 1757, relates a remarkable event: *A perſon*, ſays he, *who had taken upon himſelf a very ſpecious name, went in* 1756, *to thoſe who had the care of the Church Revenues of this Pariſh, and told them he was appointed by a deceaſed friend to diſpoſe of a conſiderable ſum of money, which was to be employed in pious acts at his option. He added, that in order to concur more heartily with his friend's intentions, he propoſed to repair ſome decayed houſes belonging to Churches; that the houſe at the corner of the ſtreet of Marivaux, over-againſt St. Jaques de la Boucherie, ſtood in need of reparation, and that he would lay out* 3000 *Livres upon it. The propoſal was accepted; repairing the houſe was the pretext,*

pretext, but the real object was to dig up and carry off ſome engraven ſtones. Thoſe who were intereſted in diſcovering the imaginary treaſure, attended the work very conſtantly; the digging went on in their preſence, and ſome rugged ſtones with all the engraven ones were privately carried off. The reparations might amount to about 2000 *Livres; but the perſon who made the application, diſappeared with his Confederates, without paying the money; and the expence will probably remain upon the account of a maſter Maſon, who was too eaſily impoſed upon by people unknown, whom he ſeeks after but cannot find.*

It is very likely that theſe unknown people are in ſearch of the Philoſopher's ſtone, and I would adviſe this builder to believe, that when they find it, they will pay him very generouſly.

The Hoſpital for Girls who have lived bad lives.

I once heard a caſe of conſcience diſcuſſed, concerning an affair related by *D. Vincent Baçallar y Sanna*, Marquis of St. Philip, in his Memoirs for a Hiſtory of Spain, under the Reign of *Philip V.* He ſays, that the Portugueſe having declared in favour of the Arch-Duke, and having come and encamped in the neighbourhood of

Madrid, the Courtiſans of that City reſolved amongſt themſelves to teſtify their zeal for *Philip V.* and to that end, thoſe of them who were convinced of their being in the worſt ſtate of health, perfumed themſelves, and went by night into the Portugueſe camp, and that in leſs than three weeks, there were upwards of 6000 of the Portugueſe army in the Hoſpitals, where the greateſt part of them died.

The caſe of conſcience which was diſcuſſed turned upon this, whether theſe girls were guilty of ſin, in proſtituting themſelves to the Portugueſe, and whether the deed was not palliated by the intention they had of ſerving their country. The Doctor, who maintained they had not ſinned, aſſerted that as it is allowable to deſtroy one's enemies, to burn and ſack their towns, and to employ every poſſible means to diminiſh their ſtrength, by a ſtill more incontroverſible reaſon, was it allowable to give them the P * *.

The Pariſh of St. Euſtache.

It is not forty years ſince one might ſee in the Carrefour *la pointe de St. Euſtache*, a large ſtone laid over a common ſewer in the form of a little bridge, which was called *Pont-Alais*. *John Alais*

Alais, from whom this bridge took its name, in order to reimburſe himſelf a ſum of money which he had lent the King, was the inventor and farmer of a tax of one denier upon every buſhel of fiſh brought to market; he was afterwards ſo touched with remorſe at what he had done, that to expiate his crime, he would be buried under this ſtone, in the common ſewer of the markets. This little monument, which ſtopped up the way, has been deſtroyed; but would it not have been proper to tranſport it to ſome Hotel, and fix it in the court, with an Inſcription?

The Hotels of the two Companies of Muſketeers.

A Spartan who was bragging to a ſtranger of the intrepidity with which the young men of his country fought, and expoſed themſelves to all perils, was anſwered, by the ſtranger, *I am ſurpriſed they do not go in queſt of death itſelf, conſidering the tireſome, melancholy and diſagreeable life they and all of you lead in your Republic.* It cannot be ſaid that diverſions are wanting at Paris, that we are as melancholy and gloomy here as at Lacedemon, and that the French Nobility are only brave when they are out of humour with life.

The firſt Company of Muſqueteers was created in 1622, and have diſtinguiſhed themſelves upon every occaſion. At the paſs of Suza, where they forced the three Intrenchments ſword in hand, *Lewis XIII.* who was there in perſon, ſaid, *What always gives me pleaſure in my Muſqueteers, is the gayety and chearfulneſs with which they march up, to whatever they are ordered to attack.* At the battle of Dunes, the great *Condé*, who then ſerved againſt France, charged them four different times, with Corps much ſuperior to them in number, without being able to make them quit the ground they occupied.

The ſecond Company was not put upon the ſame footing as the firſt, and the King did not declare himſelf their Captain, till the year 1665.

The war between France and Spain being rekindled in 1667, on account of the Queen's Rights, the Muſqueteers followed the King into Flanders, and continued to ſerve on foot and horſeback at every Siege. At that of Liſle, they were ordered to attack the half-moon, which they carried in leſs than a quarter of an hour. The next day the Governor beat the *Chamade*, and when the Capitulation was ſigned, and the Muſqueteers took poſſeſſion of the gate he gave up, he was aſtoniſhed to find that the greateſt

part

part of them were young fellows, not above 17, 18, or 20 years of age.

In 1668, they marched into Franche-Comté. Dole ſeemed to be the only City diſpoſed to hold out a ſiege; * but we had ſcarce opened the trenches, before 30 or 40 Muſqueteers threw themſelves into the covered-way. The great *Condé* came up that inſtant, and finding their daring temerity had impoſed upon the enemy, who were then running away, he ſupported them with the infantry, and procured them ſucceſs in an attack, where the imprudence of their courage muſt have coſt them their lives. Dole ſurrendered the next day.

In 1669, *Lewis XIV.* added a detachment of a hundred Muſqueteers, to the troops he put into Candia. They ſignalized themſelves by every effort of the greateſt valour in the ſally which was made by the Duke *de Navailles*, when the Turkiſh Cavalry were entirely routed. Two days after, they defended the breach on the ſide of Sabionniaire, and repulſed the Turks in every aſſault they made upon them. Two Quarter Maſters and 30 Muſqueteers were wounded, and two Brigadiers killed.

* Journal de la conquête de la Franche Comté en 1668.

In 1672, *Lewis XIV.* declared war againſt Holland, and on *June* 12th the Muſqueteers ſwam acroſs the Rhine with the other Squadrons of the Houſhold.

At the ſiege of Maeſtricht, in 1673, the firſt Company were ordered to attack the dry half-moon, whilſt the ſecond attacked the palliſades between that half-moon and the horn-work. The ſignal was given; they marched; and notwithſtanding the vigorous reſiſtance of the enemy, the mines which they ſprung, the terrible lightnings of the grenades, which were inceſſantly thrown at them, theſe works were carried almoſt in the ſame inſtant of time. The action of the next day was ſtill more warm and bloody; the lodgments were thought to be ſecured, and the Muſqueteers were returned into the Camp: the enemy all of a ſudden ſprung a mine, which had not been diſcovered by our men in the half moon; there was reaſon to fear there were others; *Farjaux*, the Governor of the place, who had put himſelf at the head of the beſt troops of his Garriſon, availing himſelf of this moment of alarm, re-entered this work, and drove our ſoldiers from it; the Muſqueteers were ordered anew to retake it, and they did ſo *; but

* Relation du Duc *de Monmouth* à *Charles II.* Recueil de Piéces, pag. 139.

but not till after a moſt bloody and obſtinate engagement, wherein 53 Muſqueteers were wounded, and 37 killed, with the Count d'*Artagnan*, commander of the firſt Company. *The Muſqueteers who returned*, ſays *Peliſſon*, *had their ſwords bloody, up to the hilts, and bent with the thruſts they had given the enemy.* *

Two ſtrong barricadoes and an intrenchment round the Church of St. Stephen, defended the approaches of the Citadel of Beſançon. *May* 20th. 1674, at ten in the morning, the Muſqueteers marched 200 paces, expoſed to all the fire of the enemy's cannon and muſketry, forced theſe two barricadoes, and the intrenchment, and enabled our workmen to begin a lodgment upon the Glacis.

April 21, 1676, *Lewis XIV.* laid ſiege to Condé, which was one of the ſtrongeſt places in Hainault. The Prince of Orange immediately marched to ſuccour it. The communication between our quarters was very difficult to be formed, on account of the inundation; beſides, our lines comprehended ſuch a great extent of ground, that it was impoſſible to defend them againſt an army, were it even much inferior to our own. It was therefore neceſſary either to march before the enemy and give them battle,

* Tom. I. p. 325.

battle, or to preſs the ſiege with an attack ſo vigorous, that the place ſhould be obliged to ſurrender before the arrival of the ſuccours. On the night of the 25th. of *April*, the two Companies of Muſqueteers, at the head of ſeveral detachments of Infantry, were ordered to make this attack; and if ever bravery and the emulation which bravery inſpires, rendered a ſervice of importance, it was upon this occaſion. *A day more or leſs*, ſays *Peliſſon*, (Tom. iii. p. 20, 21,) *was of the greateſt conſequence in ſuch a ſituation of affairs; our troops therefore, had orders not to ſtop, if it were poſſible to avoid it, till every thing was carried.* Every thing was carried in fact; the paliſſades, the ditch, the counterſcarp, the advanced work, the ſecond counterſcarp, the redoubts upon the ſalient angles, with the mines underneath, and the two detached baſtions with their curtain: the enemy could not oppoſe the impetuoſity of our aſſaults in any of theſe works. * The Muſqueteers followed by the Grenadiers of the Regiments of Artois and Maine, penetrated as far as the lower town; the Governor in conſternation, ordered the *Chamade* to be beaten, ſent hoſtages immediately, and ſurrendered at diſcretion. In theſe different attacks, which

* Journal du Marechal d'*Humieres*, *Recueil de Piéces*, pag. 147.

which were ſo quick that they ſeemed only to make one, there were only 11 Muſqueteers killed, and 17 wounded. *La Hoguette*, enſign to the firſt Company, was wounded by a pike in the thigh; *Jauvelle*, Captain Lieutenant of the ſecond Company, and *de Vins*, ſecond Lieutenant, were blown up by the ſpringing of a mine, but they only received a few bruiſes.

Good Fortifications well kept up; ammunition and proviſions in abundance; a moſt formidable artillery upon the ramparts and in all the works; 3 or 4000 men in garriſon; the hatred the inhabitants bore the French, and their affection for the Spaniſh government; all ſeemed to beſpeak that the ſiege of Valenciennes, would be long, difficult and bloody. The ſide of the City on which we began our attack, was defended on the right by one half-moon, and by another on the left, in front by a crown-work palliſſaded and fraiſed, the ditch whereof was interſected with ſeveral traverſes. In this crown-work there was another half-moon with a good ditch, all well lined; beyond the half-moon was a branch of the Scheld; then a work called the *Paté*, and laſtly the great ſtream of the Scheld, deep and rapid, which in its courſe formed a ditch between the *Paté* and the wall of the City, whoſe fine ſpacious ramparts protected

tected with their Cannon, and thoſe of the two Baſtions, all the exterior defences. The trenches were opened on the 9th of *March* 1677. The 11th at night, the Muſqueteers were ordered with the Grenadiers * of the Houſhold, and ſome large detachments of the Regiment of Guards and that of Picardy. The 17th at nine in the morning they marched to attack the crown-work, and carried it in a ſhort time. *Soon after*, ſays *Peliſſon*, (Tom. 3. p. 178,) *the King eaſily diſtinguiſhed his Muſqueteers, by their red clothes, whilſt they were in the half-moon within the crown-work. This appeared incredible*, adds he, *for their orders were to lodge themſelves in the crown-work and to proceed no farther; which the King was contented with for the preſent.* If this beginning of the action ſeemed incredible, the end of it was ſtill more aſtoniſhing. There was a bridge upon the little branch of the Scheld, which communicated with the half-moon and *Paté*; and at the entrance upon this bridge, there was a barrier of large pieces of wood pointed with a wicket in the middle, through which one man only could paſs at a time. Whilſt a part of ſuch

* The horſe Grenadiers were created towards the end of the year 1676, and were united to the King's Houſhold. This Company conſiſted at firſt of only 84 Maſters. They were called the *Riotors*, from the name of their Commander.

ſuch of the Muſqueteers as arrived firſt, were endeavouring to force an entrance here, the others got on the top of the barrier, in defiance of the attacks of pikes, and the firing of Muſkets, and jumped ſword in hand on the other ſide. The enemy fled in a pannick, no longer attempting to defend the wicket: they were purſued acroſs the bridge as far as the *Paté*; this work was attacked, and as rapidly carried as the crown-work, and the half-moon; but here they were upon the point of being infallibly deſtroyed by the cannon of the ramparts. The white Muſqueteers ‡ perceived a little door †, which they found open, when they diſcovered a private ſtair-caſe, formed in the inſide of the wall, by which they got to the top of the *Paté*; here they met with another door that led into a gallery, erected over the great Canal of the Scheld, which conducted them to the ramparts, from whence they deſcended into the City, and paſſed a ſtreet, in the middle of which was a bridge upon a third branch of the Scheld, which croſſed it. Cornet *Moiſſac*

* They paſſed by the two advanced half moons without attacking them, becauſe theſe would fall of themſelves, when once they became maſters of the crown-work which commanded them.

‡ So called from their being mounted upon white horſes. *Peliſſon*, p. 192, Vol. III.

Moiſſac, and Quarter-Maſter *La Barre*, who led them on, lodged part of theſe men in the houſes which were moſt contiguous, that they might by their firing from the windows protect thoſe who ſhould defend the bridge, and who really defended it with a bravery that ſurpaſſes belief. The cavalry of the garriſon, who attacked them three different times, could never ſhake nor break in upon them, notwithſtanding the ſmallneſs of their numbers. The infantry by paſſing the rampart might have attacked their rear; but the greateſt part of the black muſqueteers, with the houſhold grenadiers were poſted there, and vigorouſly repulſed them. The inhabitants were aſtoniſhed; the Burgeſſes aſſembled in the Town-houſe: they entered into a ſhort conference with *Moiſſac*, who received and gave hoſtages: a deputation was ſent to the King: it was now high time to take precautions to prevent the town's being pillaged: the ſoldiers of the regiment of French guards and that of Picardy began to crowd in, ſome grenadiers of the houſhold having let down the drawbridge of the great canal of the Scheld *. "I "do

* I have obſerved that the great ſtream or canal of the Scheld ſerved for a ditch between the City wall and the *paré*. The muſqueteers having taken the *paré*, would have entered the City pellmell with the flying enemy, if the beſieged had not immediately raiſed the drawbridge.

"do not know (ſays *Larrey*) whether hiſtory "furniſhes many examples of an action ſo abrupt "and fortunate, and of taking ſo ſpeedily a po- "pulous and ſtrong city which was in want of "nothing for its defence. It is all prodigy, (adds "he,) and the whole was attributed to the lucky "temerity of the muſqueteers." It was lucky, becauſe cool blood and prudence compleated what ardour and the impetuoſity of courage had begun. Every circumſtance is characteriſtic of true valour, that valour which raiſes a man above himſelf, and often makes him triumph againſt all expectation, and in oppoſition to the moſt imminent danger in which he ſeems precipitated.

March 17th, 1677, the muſketeers had taken Valenciennes: *April* 11th they determined the fate of the battle of Caſſel. Our army was commanded by the King's brother, and that of the enemy by the Prince of Orange. We ſurprized them in croſſing a rivulet, and broke and routed the firſt toops that offered themſelves; "but we "met with more oppoſition afterwards," ſays *Peliſſon*, (Tom iii. p. 231) "for ſome regiments "of infantry, particularly that of the Prince of "Orange's guards, let themſelves be cut to pieces, "without a ſoldier's moving from his place and "rank. Our cavalry, (continues he) whom "they waited for behind ſome hedges, with their "pikes

" pikes lowered, advanced, but never dared to " join them, till the Muſqueteers, on foot, with " two battalions of Navarre and two of Humieres " went and put them all to the ſword." He ſays in another letter, (Tom. iii. p. 289,) " that the " muſquetteers having diſmounted, performed " wonders, but that in retiring to mount their " horſes again, they had like to have made ſome " of our battalions who followed them, retreat, " imagining they had been repulſed." * We may gather from this dry and inaccurate narration, that the Prince of Orange's guards, ſupported by two other battalions, having a ditch and hedges before them, their firſt rank compoſed of pike-men, and the others making a terrible fire upon our cavalry, who endeavoured to croſs the ditch, were twice broken and repulſed: the Muſketeers are ordered, which was the uſual † reſourſe upon theſe

* In every page of *Peliſon*'s letters one is ſurpriſed that a man, whom *Lewis XIVth.* had choſen for his Hiſtoriographer, ſhould write ſo very badly. The lowneſs, barbariſm, and falſe conſtruction in his ſtyle are inconceivable. Beſides, the manner in which he ſometimes relates the circumſtances of an action, manifeſtly diſcovers that he had never been in the army.

† At the ſiege of Ypres, in 1678, at the attack of the counterſcarp, *Our troops*, ſays *Peliſon*, (Tom. III. p. 187) *did not diſplay their uſual vigour*; *a detachment of muſqueteers*, adds he, *conſiſting only of* 50, *changed the face of affairs*; they placed themſelves

theſe occaſions; they quit their horſes and begin to march on foot: the ditch ſeems filled up, the hedges vaniſh before them, and their impetuous ſpeed outſtrips and renders fruitleſs the fire of the enemy; they come up with theſe Coloſſus's armed with pikes, break in upon and overthrow them, and demonſtrate to the world, that real ſtrength depends upon ſuperiority of the ſoul. Then leaving the completion of the defeat and carnage to the battalions who followed them, they laſtly return to mount their horſes, and ſhew themſelves ready to execute any freſh orders they may receive. This ſoon happened: * they charged and put to flight a numerous body of cavalry, who were making different movements upon their left, with a view to advance towards

* St.

themſelves in the front of the whole, without ſaying a word but *Gare*, [Have a care.] as if they were only going to croſs ſome way. They threw themſelves into the counterſcarp ſword in hand, and forced the enemy to abandon it. Ypres capitulated the next day.

In 1691, at the ſiege of Mons, the two battalions ordered to attack the horn-work, being repulſed, and ſeeming diſmayed, *Lewis XIVth.* ſaid with ſome indignation that *he would ſend other troops that would not retreat.* In fact the muſqueteers whom he ſent next day took the place.

* Mémoires des expéditions militaires de la guerre de Hollande.

* St. Omer, into which they wanted to throw in ſuccours. The day following theſe memorable exploits, the King's brother, when ſending orders to the Commanders of the different Companies, wrote to them, "That they had begun "the victory, and given a happy turn to the "whole affair."

I ſhall not follow them to the ſieges of Ypres, Courtrai, Philipſburgh, Mons and Namur. † The actions which they performed at theſe places are no leſs deſerving of being conſecrated in the military *Faſti* of the nation, than thoſe which I have juſt mentioned; but it not being my deſign to undertake their hiſtory, it only remains, that I conſider them in thoſe unfortunate moments, in thoſe fatal circumſtances, which may perhaps be looked upon as the real criterion of true courage. The battle of Ramilies was fought on the 23d of *May*, 1706, which was Whit-Sunday. Our army conſiſted of 40,000 men, that of the enemy of 65 thouſand. The *King's guards*, the *Gens*

* The King's brother laid ſiege to St. Omer, and had marched before the Prince of Orange, who came to ſuccour that place.

† At the attack of the Caſotte, M. de Maupertuis told them, if any one of them hurried out of his rank before the action became general, he had orders to put him to death, the King having obſerved with great concern that their violent ardour was ſometimes fatal to them.

Gens d'Armes, the light horſe, the muſketeers and the horſe grenadiers compoſed the firſt line of our right wing; they penetrated and broke four lines of the enemy's left wing, and took ſeveral priſoners and 6 pieces of cannon. But it was eaſy for the Duke of Marlborough to ſnatch the victory out of their hands, by availing himſelf of the bad diſpoſitions our Generals had made, and of the blunders they committed during the action. Six battalions, with ſome regiments of dragoons, who were poſted in the valley of Tavieres muſt have been much too feeble to protect and cover the flank of our right wing; an impaſſable moraſs between our left wing and the enemy's right, prevented their reciprocally acting againſt each other; ſo that Marlborough riſking nothing by weakening his right wing which could not be attacked, drew fifty ſquadrons from thence to ſtrengthen his left wing; by this means the King's houſhold, who had penetrated and broke four lines of this left wing, ſaw freſh ſquadrons forming themſelves all of a ſudden before them, and the four lines which had been beaten and diſperſed, rallying behind the ſquadrons. Marlborough at the ſame time ordered all his reſerve to attack the battalions which we had poſted in the valley of Tavieres. They could not reſiſt the ſuperiority of numbers, and by their being routed all the ſide of our right

wing

wing became expoſed. The cavalry which conſtituted the ſecond line of this wing, behind the King's houſhold, endeavoured to make head, by ſupporting themſelves on the right, and making a movement upon the left; but this Evolution could not be executed quick enough in the face of an enemy who advanced with rapidity, and flanked them. The neareſt ſquadrons were overpowered, the others took to flight; the king's houſhold, attacked in front, flank and rear, made the beſt of their way, and joined the left wing. We ſee that whilſt Marlborough was drawing off troops from his right wing to ſtrengthen his left wing, if our Generals had, in the like manner, drawn from their left wing a reinforcement for their right, and particularly for the 6 battalions in the valley of Tavieres, it is highly probable that the victory would have remained on our ſide. We find again by the accounts of the enemy, that the loſs was nearly equal on both ſides, that they did not think of purſuing us; that in that caſe they would only have gained by the whole of the action the empty honour of having remained maſters of the field; that our left wing with the King's houſhold made their retreat calmly, and without being hurt; that even the infantry and cavalry of the right wing, though beaten, retired in pretty

good

good order, when an unforeſeen * accident rendered the labours of the day one of the moſt fatal to France. Some waggons breaking down in a defile, and the paſſage being ſtopt up, they thought they heard the enemy purſuing them; the diſappearing of their generals, and the little confidence they repoſed in them, doubtleſs increaſed their panic: they ſeparate and fly on all ſides. Marlborough receiving intelligence of this by the ſcouts he had before, detaches part of his cavalry and dragoons, who fall upon theſe diſordered troops, and did not begin to make priſoners till they were wearied of ſlaughter. The baggage, artillery, caiſſoons, and every thing was taken.

I ſhall not enter into any detail upon the battle of Malplaquet. The houſhold troops charged the enemy's cavalry four times, and four times ſhook and drove them back upon their infantry. When we abandoned the field of battle, they compoſed the rear guard: they reſembled a wounded lion retiring: as ſoon as the enemy who followed us came near, they turned about upon them, and the purſuers recoiled. The muſketeers upon this occaſion demonſtrated to what a pitch honour can captivate nature and command

* Vide the continuation of Rapin de Thoiras's hiſtory of England.

reputation: this corps who are painted in ſuch lively and ſtriking colours, eager to attack, and burning with impatience under the hand that controuls them, continued for five hours expoſed to the fire of a battery of 30 pieces of cannon; their countenances ſteady and compoſed in this ſituation, and in thoſe critical moments, when it is not allowed to quit one's rank even to ſtrike at the thunderbolt that is lighting, and when even this attack muſt be at the price of life. So natural a ſtep would be conſtrued as a mark of weakneſs; one muſt wait for death, remain motionleſs before it, ſee it and ſtare it in the face for whole hours, dealing deſtruction on all ſides.

At the ſiege of Philipſburg in 1734, when the King's houſhold entered into the lines, the muſqueteers continued to be expoſed for a conſiderable time, to a very briſk cannonade, and ſupported it with the ſame coolneſs; yet at that time we had juſt iſſued from a long peace, and the greateſt part had never before been in action. Could we be ſparing of Eulogiums upon a corps when honour and great reputation ſeem impreſſed upon the ſoul of a young man, as ſoon as he enters it? When at Ramillies, Malplaquet and Dettingen, they gathered up their bloody remains which the enemy had not the boldneſs to attack, do they appear in a leſs advantageous point of light, than when

when we ſaw them raiſing trophies to their maſter in the plains of Fontenoy?

A more ample Explanation of the Syſtem of the Druids: (See p. 288 of Vol. I.

* The Druids taught that ſouls were in an eternal circulation from this world to the other, and from the other world to this; that is to ſay, that what is called Death, was an entrance into the other world, and what is called life, was an iſſuing from thence to return to this world. That † after death the ſoul paſſed into ſome other body; and that the inequality of conditions and the proportion of pleaſure and pain, was regulated in the other world, by the good or ill that had been done in this. That at the end of a certain period, ſouls quitted the bodies wherein they had been happy or unhappy in the other world, and returned to inhabit new ones in this world. That by fighting valiantly for ones country §, by offer-

* *Diodorus Sicul.*

† *Lucan L.* 1. vers 454. & *ſeqq.*

§ The Druids, ſays *Cæſar*, taught the *Gauls* that ſouls do not die, but that they paſs from one to another after death; and it is from this doctrine, he adds, that theſe people draw that courage which makes them brave death with ſo much intrepidity:

ing ones ſelf as a victim in a time of public calamity, or by killing ones ſelf to ſave * the life of ones prince, patron or friend, all poſſible crimes were expiated, and an agreeable and glorious life, for ſeveral ages, amongſt Heroes, was thereby inſured.

A proof that this was the ſyſtem of tranſmigration taught by the Druids, is, that the Gauls burnt † with the deceaſed his arms, and cloaths, together with ſuch animals as he had ſeemed fondeſt of. They believed then, as I have juſt obſerved, that there was another world, where there were the ſame ranks and diſtinctions, the ſame pleaſures and pains, the ſame amuſements and the ſame afflictions as in this, and where the ſame bodies reappeared, probably like the ſhadows

trepidity: *Non interire animas, ſed ab aliis ab alios tranſire; atque hoc maxime ad virtutem excitari putant, metu mortis neglecto.* De Bello Gallico, L. 6. num. 13.

* They imagined that the anger of the Gods might be appeaſed, and that one life might be redeemed by another. Thus, when they were ill, and in danger of dying, they ſent for ſome one that would be willing to die in their ſtead, whom they found for money, becauſe he who killed himſelf, abſtracted from the money which he left his family, was in hopes of a happier life than that which he quitted.

† Omniaque vivis cordi fuiſſe arbitrantur, in ignem inferunt, etiam animalia. Cæſar de Bello Gallico, Lib. VI. cap. 17.

dows which the Greeks and Romans imagined in the Elyſian fields and Tartarus; but they did not like the Greeks and Romans, believe that the rewards and puniſhments of ſouls, after death, were eternal; they were only, according to them, of a longer or ſhorter duration, and conſiſted in being placed in particular bodies. Moreover they ſaid it was a teſtimony of affection towards relations or friends, to ſend them at all riſks into the other world, whatever might be uſeful and agreeable to them.

The Metempſychoſis of *Pythagoras* appears more ſimple and natural. It is needleſs to object, that in order to ſay the ſoul is really puniſhed, it muſt remember that in an anterior life, being in ſuch a particular body, it was guilty of ſuch and ſuch bad actions. To this objection I reply, that a *Pythagorean* who finds himſelf in miſery, ſays to himſelf that ſince he ſuffers, he has doubtleſs deſerved it, by the manner in which he behaved in his former life, and thus, according to *Pythagoras*, the object of the Divinity is obtained, becauſe its object is to eſtrange men from vice, and to excite them to virtue, by offering them rewards or puniſhments.

The conformities, Alterations and Differences obſervable in our Manners, Uſages and Cuſtoms.

The humour of the Germans, ſays Tacitus, is to be buſied about nothing, and to have a ſurpriſing antipathy to repoſe.

They are very anxious about the choice of their Generals, and leſs careful of the character of their Soldiers than of his who commands them.

Affairs of ſmall importance are judged, and finally determined by the Prince; but all matters of conſequence are laid before a General Meeting of the States, where the Sovereign's Opinion is firſt called for; the Grandees next deliver their Sentiments, and they are liſten'd to with a Reſpect ſuitable to their Age, Birth and Valour: if their advice diſpleaſes the Aſſembly it is diſapproved

(P. 114 Fr.) of this Vol.

I ſaid that Alberic made Robert the ſtrong deſcend from Vitikint, which I found upon the authority of this paſſage in his chronicle, anno 921. *Dux Theodoricus fuit de genere Guithicindi, & habuit tres fratres Guitecin, Immir & Regenben, & ex hâc ſerie iſtorum quatuor fratrum deſcendit nobilitas Saxoniæ, Italiæ, Germaniæ, Galliæ, &c.*

* Of the manners of the Germans, c. 15.

§ Ibid. c. 30. ‖ Ibid. c. 11.

proved of by a Murmur; but if the Speech is acceptable to the plurality, they expreſs their Applauſe by ſtriking on their ſhields with their ſpears. This military encomium is, among them, reckoned the moſt reſpectful manner of praiſing.

"The French paid ſuch regard to my Father's "judgment, (ſaid Charles the Bald,) that they "thought fit to be governed by his Opinion; and "the Religious Part of this Nation in a General "Aſſembly enacted, that his Commands ſhould "be perpetually obeyed."

No German was allowed to walk in Arms without the permiſſion of his fellow Citizens: ſo ſoon as a youth was fit to carry arms, his chief, father or guardian introduced him into the Aſſembly of the States, and there in a ceremonious manner delivered to him a javelin and a buckler.

Of old the Son of a Nobleman in France, ſo ſoon as he arrived at the age of fourteen years, went to Church with a Saſh over one ſhoulder and a Sword by his ſide; his Father and Mother carried each of them a taper in their hand, and in this manner they led their ſon to the altar, where they preſented him to the Prieſt while he was pronouncing the Offertory: the Prieſt took the Sword from the young Nobleman, bleſſed it and returned it to the Youth, who held it naked

 in

* On the Manners of the Germans, c. 13.

in his hand during all the reſt of the Service, then put it up in its ſheath by his ſide; and from that moment he was entitled to wear that honourable mark of diſtinction due to his rank.

In the year 1663 the Biſhop of * * * thought proper to give his firſt footman the name of Valet de Chambre, and made him wear a ſword. The next day when the Officers of the garriſon went to the Governor's levy, they found him ſhaving; the Barber was one of his ſervants dreſſed in a Band and Caſſock: from that time every vagaband or rogue, or mean Poltroon, whoſe manners were as baſe as his birth, might, without being liable to cenſure, chuſe, in a morning, whether he will dreſs himſelf like a Gentleman, with a Sword by his Side, or appear in a Band, and wearing the badge of the moſt venerable Order of Men.

The poverty of the Germans gave birth to the barbarous cuſtom of giving all, or the greateſt part of their eſtates to the eldeſt ſon. As many of them could not bear the expence of bringing up all their children at home, the father choſe which of them he would detain in his houſe, in order to be his heir, and ſent the reſt begging.

When the Sicambrij, a clan in France, began to retire and fly from the field of battle, their Women met them, uncovered their boſoms,

and

and ſaid, "Strike there ye cowards, we wiſh "that ye would ſlay us rather than expoſe us to "the diſgrace attendant on Slavery." This behaviour and theſe reproaches raiſed the courage of the Sicambrij, and alarmed their pride; they rallied, returned to the charge, repulſed and entirely defeated the enemy, who had ſuppoſed themſelves in poſſeſſion of the victory. One of their Hiſtorians pretends, that in commemoration of the ſhare their women had in the honour of that day, they were from that time permitted to let their breaſts remain bare, and that this faſhion, which ſtill prevails, owed its origin to the undaunted behaviour of their females on that occaſion.

The Germans imagined that there was ſomewhat * Divine in young Maidens.

When our Sovereigns made their entry into any of their cities, it was uſual that a young Maid of diſtinction dreſt in white, deck'd with flowers, and her hair waving in the wind, walked in the proceſſion before the Mayor and Sheriffs, harangued the Prince, and preſented the keys of the Town.

* They fancied that in Virgins there was ſomewhat holy, and entitling more immediately to the Divine protection. Tac. c. 8. on the Manners of the Germans.

It was eſſential in ancient Chivairy for each Knight to have *his Lady*, to whom, as to a Divinity, he reported all his deſigns, thoughts and performances. It was then the general perſuaſion that Love improved to the greateſt pitch of perfection the young Nobility, and was the chief motive in great enterprizes. "Oh if my Lady "was a ſpectator of this action!" ſaid Fleuranges, when he was the firſt that mounted the walls at an aſſault.

A man of courage almoſt always regards his wife as a friend; but there is nothing more certain than that cowards are always imperious and tyrannical in their behaviour to their ſpouſes and in their families. The meaneſt raſcal will have a dog, that he may not want ſome creature to domineer over.

It is an old Proverb, *That if the Devil was to come to this World in order to fight a duel, there is not a Frenchman who would not ſtrive to be the firſt to accept the challenge.*

When any Chevalier died that had diſtinguiſhed himſelf for integrity, impartiality, and ſhining valour, princes of the higheſt rank, and even kings were ambitious of the honour of being poſſeſſed of his ſword or battle *horſe*. The Duke of Orleans, Brother of *Charles VI.* demanded the ſpear of *John Beaumont*, a Chevalier of Brittany,

Brittany, offering at the ſame time a very conſiderable marriage portion to the daughter of this valiant Gentleman. But although ſhe had no fortune, *William Roſnivinen* married her, refuſed the portion offered by the Duke, and kept his father in law's ſpear.

Anciently none but the Nobility enjoyed the privilege of ſetting up Fanes upon their houſes; nay, it is even alledged that none could aſpire to that mark of diſtinction unleſs they had been the foremoſt at ſcaling the walls in an aſſault on ſome city, or had firſt planted their banner or pendant upon the ramparts. Fanes were painted with armorial bearings, and repreſented banners or pendants of Nobility.

Of old the Frenchman no ſooner ſlew his Foe than he cut off his head, carried it home, and * nailed it over his gate; this was never neglected in caſe the deceaſed had been eſteemed a man of eminent valour. It is probable that this practice has given riſe to that of fixing in the ſame manner the carcaſs of birds of prey, or the heads of carnivorous animals over the entry into fortreſſes.

* It was prohibited by the Salic law, *which was the ancient Law of France*, to take down theſe heads after they were fixed to their doors.

The God Irmenſul adored by the Saxons, whoſe Temple Charlemain deſtroyed, was there imaged under the plain appearance of a long ſtone, on which was engraved the figure of the Sun ſhining, and diſpenſing his rays all over nature.

In Britanny *hirr* ſignifies long, *mein* a ſtone, and *ſul* the Sun, which is a manifeſt proof that the language of that province is a dialect of the ancient Celtic.

There are in France above three thouſand convents for the reception of perſons in religious orders, mendicant or induſtrious. But how many hoſpitals have we got for impoveriſhed officers and maimed ſoldiers? Only One. When was it founded? many ages ago? Not ſo, nor till the year 1671, when *Lewis XIV.* ordered it to be built, many centuries after there were ſeveral foundations of Nuns and Friars ſettled all over the kingdom. "Our kings, ſays Father Daniel, "in ſeveral monaſteries which they founded, re- "ſerved the right of preſenting a maimed ſoldier, "to be maintained in the Abbacy, and entitled "to a Monk's portion, upon condition of his "performing ſome menial ſervices, ſuch as ſweep- "ing the chapel and ringing the bell. This "man was called the *Lay-Monk*, or the *Preſen-*

"*tee.*

* See p. 51. & 53. v. II. of theſe eſſays.

"*tee.* This foundation, (adds this author) was "too narrow a proviſion for all the Military that "were diſabled in the wars; (and he alſo re-"marks, that the impoſition of theſe ſervile du-"ties upon the unhappy ſoldier greatly debaſed "the importance of the military man."

In the twelfth age a Monk of St. Medard of Soiſſons, named *Guernon*, when at the point of death, openly acknowledged that he had forged many charters in favour of Monaſteries in different parts of Chriſtendom.

So ſoon as the Latin language ceaſed to be the vulgar Tongue, it became a regulation in the church, that all perſons that entered into orders ſhould be maſters of Latin. Although this prudent cuſtom began to be neglected in the twelfth age, yet it is manifeſt that it ought to have continued.

About the beginning of the twelfth century, a heretic, named Tanchelin was ſo much revered in all the provinces of France, that they drank his urine, and preſerved his excrements as carefully as if they had been holy Relicts. The profits which the promoters of that Sect drew from this

* Trevoux's Journal, *March* 1716.

‖ Latin ceaſed to be the vulgar Tongue in the ninth age, in the reign of Lewis the kind.

‡ Mezeray, vol. ii. p. 173.

this general infatuation were ſo great, that they defrayed the expence of the impoſtor's table, which was always plentifully furniſhed with all the delicacies in ſeaſon. So extravagant was this univerſal phrenſy, that fathers requeſted him to debauch their daughters, and huſbands thought themſelves happy if he deigned to lie with their wives.

An inhabitant of Padua was the inventor of paper about the beginning of the fourteenth age, but it was not known and uſed in France for the purpoſe of writing on, in lieu of parchment, till the reign of Philip of Valois. It is made of linen rags pounded together and ground by means of a water-mill, and afterwards ſpread out into leaves or ſheets.

* In 1471, *Lewis XI.* being deſirous of ornamenting his library with a copy of Doctor *Raſis*'s works, he borrowed the original from the faculty of Phyſicians at Paris, and gave them in ſecurity for this manuſcript ninety ſix ounces of ſilver, twenty pounds ſterling, and a merchant's promiſſory note for one hundred crowns. It appears extremely odd, that a ſovereign prince ſhould not only give pledges, but alſo City ſecurity for a book, which he borrowed within his own dominions. But from this and other incidents we learn,

* Additions to the Memoirs of Comines, vol. iv. p. 39.

learn, how very difficult it was to come at books, and how dear they were for many years after the art of Printing was invented. That valuable art was found out at Straſburgh or Mentz in 1440, and there were ſome Printers ſettled at Paris ſo early as 1470. In that very year one of the firſt books that ever was printed, was dedicated to *Lewis XIth.* and next year, that is in 1471, the ſame Monarch borrowed a book, in order to obtain a manuſcript copy of it. We are told, but with what truth I cannot ſay, that 20,000 perſons then maintained themſelves in France by the ſale of books which they copied; and that for this reaſon Printing was then a very unpopular employment.

Was there ever ſeen a ſpecimen of ignorance and impropriety equal to that of the celebrated *Lewis Cigoli.* This Painter, in a picture of the Circumciſion of the Holy Child JESUS, drew the High Prieſt Simeon with ſpectacles on his noſe, upon a ſuppoſition, that, in reſpect of his great age, that aid would be neceſſary in order to enable him to perform the operation he was then engaged in. It is however certain, that the ancients knew nothing of the uſe of ſpectacles with reſpect to aſſiſting the eyes; and that, of conſequence, they had none. *Salvino Degli Armati,* a Florentine, invented that improvement of the

Sight,

Sight, about the end of the 13th. or the beginning of the 14th. Century. Some new diſcoveries are rather hurtful than beneficial to Mankind; by this they endeavour to ſtrengthen our eyes, but in fact they are weakened by it. Many who would have read without them till their death, even tho' their age had been of an extraordinary length, by accuſtoming themſelves to ſpectacles, contract ſuch a habit, that they can never more read without glaſſes.

Pope *John* the XXIId. in the year 1329, when preaching upon that view of God which happy Spirits enjoy in the life to come, had aſſerted that the ſouls of the Saints would not be bleſſed with a full and perfect perception of the Divine preſence, till after the reſurrection and final judgment. He alſo ſent two legates into France with poſitive Orders to maintain and propagate that opinion. *Philip* of Valois, then King of France, convoked, at the caſtle of Vincennes, a Synod of all the Doctors of Divinity, Biſhops and Abbots then in Paris, for the determination of this queſtion. The unanimous deciſion of that Aſſembly was, that, immediately after the death of Jeſus Chriſt, the Souls of the Bleſſed in Heaven were admitted to as a perfect view of the Divinity, as after the general Reſurrection, according to St. *Paul*'s expreſs declaration, who

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tells us, that we ſhall after this life ſee the Almighty *face to face*. *Philip* of Valois ſent this deciſion to Rome, at the ſame time enjoining, that the firſt Venter of this error ſhould be burnt, if he did not retract his opinion. *

* The Abbot of St. *Peter*'s pretends that we ſhould let the Divinity ſchools be annihilated, that thoſe diſputes might be dropped which are there agitated relative to the ſacred impenetrable myſteries of our Religion; theſe venerable truths being proper objects of our adoration, but by no means fit to be treated as ſubjects of diſputation, ſince the human underſtanding is by far too weak to explain them. According to this Abbot Cardinal Richlieu ought to be highly blamed for founding at a great expence the Divinity College of *Robert Sorbon*, where young Eccleſiaſtics are taught, ſays he, to diſpute with uncommon bitterneſs, and maintain with an unexampled pride queſtions in Divinity that are purely ſpeculative. "To permit Theological Diſputes of this ſort, "and to found Halls for this purpoſe, (added this "Divine,) is to employ Scholars to exert their "abilities in diſturbing our conſciences and fo-"menting errors, ſchiſms, and hereſies in the "church;

* Hiſt. of *Paris* by *D. Felibien* and *D. Lobineau*, vol. i. b. 12. p. 588.

§ Annals of Politics, vol. i. p. 38.

" church; not to ſay that factions are often " thereby formed in the State, which is abſo- " lutely contrary to the dictates of ſound policy, " whoſe principal object is to preſerve concord " and tranquillity."

We acknowledge without reluctance that we are miſtaken when we debate on Subjects that do not concern our Profeſſion; but we cannot without great difficulty be brought to own our ignorance in matters which we are ſuppoſed to have ſtudied; probably becauſe a confeſſion of this nature would be too ſevere a mortification of our Pride.

Religious wars are never mentioned, either among the Aſſyrians, Medes, Perſians, Greeks, Romans, Gauls, Germans, or in the hiſtories of any ancient Nations. Such a Soleciſm in Ethics was reſerved for Chriſtianity. But how is it poſſible that ſuch inhumanity ſhould have taken its riſe among the Profeſſors of a Religion which ſo ſtrongly recommends Benevolence and Charity?

When Jeſus Chriſt was on a journey to Jeruſalem, * he ſent meſſengers before him to take lodgings for him and his diſciples in a Samaritan Town. The inhabitants not only refuſed to receive, but alſo inſulted him. " Will you allow " us,

* Luke xi. 53.

" us, Sir, (ſaid his diſciples,) to command fire " from Heaven whereby to deſtroy theſe wicked " wretches ?" Our Saviour by way of Reproof to their warmth replied, *By what Spirit are ye animated? The Son of Man came not to ſlay but to preſerve Mankind.* He then went forwards to another Town and lodged there.

During the Wars with the Albigenſes, * the army of the Church, then called the Cruiſade, laid ſiege to Beziers, where there were many heretics, but more Catholics. As the beſiegers marched on to ſcale the walls, their officers enquired of the Pope's Legate what muſt be done, when there was no poſſibility of diſtinguiſhing Catholics from Heretics. " Kill them all, (ſaid " the Legate,) God will know his own." In conſequence of this cruel direction, all the inhabitants of this unhappy Town, amounting to above ſixty thouſand perſons, were put to the ſword, without diſtinction of age or ſex.

Father *Daniel* pretends, that, from the firſt foundation of the French Monarchy, § our kings were always attended with guards, and, to prove this aſſertion, he quotes *Gregory* of Tours, and an ancient chronicle. *Gregory* of Tours relates, " That King *Gontran*, being diffident of ſome of " *Fredegand*'s

* Hiſtory of Languedoc.

§ Hiſtory of the Military of France, vol. xi. p. 92.

" *Fredegond*'s followers, and having received in-
" formation that one *Farolph* intended to murder
" him, he always afterwards took particular care
" of * himſelf, and became ſo cautious that he
" never went abroad without guards." The old chronicle bears, " That *Philip*, ſirnamed " *Auguſt*, having got accounts that the old Man " of the Mountains had diſpatched ſome emiſſa-
" ries § to aſſaſſinate him, he had recourſe to the " protection of guards, and choſe a ſelect com-
" pany, whom he called Sergeants of the Meſs, " to attend him, by rotation, both day and " night, under the name of *Body Guards*." For my part I think it a more natural deduction from *Gregory* of Tours, that our Princes of the firſt Race had no Guards, unleſs when extraordinary circumſtances of danger obliged them to have recourſe to this precaution. And the quotation from the old Chronicle ſeems, in my opinion, to inſtruct us, that *Philip the Auguſt* of the third race of Kings was the firſt Monarch of France that ever was attended in ordinary by Guards: ſo that Father *Daniel* ſeems to have been miſtaken, and

* He went neither to Church nor any where elſe without Guards, Book vii. c. 8 and 18.

§ Like Ja. Clement they believed that they would go directly to Paradiſe if they fell in the execution of their Chief's orders.

and refuted by thoſe authorities which he cited in ſupport of his own opinion.

It was formerly the cuſtom to beſtow on Sovereign Princes the titles of *Moſt Illuſtrious, Your Serenity and Grace*; but of late it has become uſual to addreſs them with the reſpectable appellation of MAJESTY. This practice never was thoroughly eſtabliſhed till the reign of *Lewis the XIth.* a Prince whoſe Perſon and Conduct was greatly inferior to many of his Anceſtors. He was not aſhamed to appear upon the moſt ſolemn Occaſions, on days of the greateſt State and Ceremony, in a Surtout and Doublet made of very coarſe Cloth, a leather cap that covered even his Ears, and a very dirty Bonnet, to which he hung little heads of *our Lady.* In this Dreſs he gave Audience to Ambaſſadors, ſitting in a naſty arm'd Chair, with an ugly Dog upon his knee. In the accounts of his Family expence there is an article of fifteen pence for two new ſleeves to an old waiſtcoat.

The Spaniſh hiſtorian *Ferreras* relates of *D. Juan*, king of Caſtille, that he received the French Ambaſſadors upon a very magnificent Throne, with a very large Lion at his feet, which he had tamed.

Our Kings never honoured with the addreſs of *Couſin* any perſon that was not really related

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to them by Blood. If they wrote to Peers, great Officers of State, or Cardinals, they called them *Very dear and faithful Friend.* Our Princes never had ſo many *Couſins* before *Francis the Firſt*, when this cuſtom commenced, which was in the year 1550.

Our Queens uſed always to go abroad in an open Chair or on horſeback, till Catherine of Medicis thought proper to take the Air in a Coach. The firſt Preſident cauſed one to be made for him, becauſe he was troubled with the Gout, but his Wife came to Paris on horſeback, ſitting behind one of the footmen.

Theſe Coaches reſembled Poſt-Chaiſes, with large Hangings of Leather, which were taken down that the People might get in, and then the Curtain was put up again. If there had been glaſſes in *Henry the IVth*'s Coach, perhaps he had never been murdered. *Baſſompierre*, in the reign of *Lewis the XIIIth.* was the firſt that projected a ſmall Coach with Glaſſes. During the minority of *Lewis the XIVth.* almoſt all the people of faſhion viſited on horſeback, if they were in health: they appeared in the apartments of the Ladies in Aſſemblies, and ſat at Table in their boots, without even taking off their Spurs. There were only 310, or at moſt 320 Coaches

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in Paris in the Year 1658; and now their number exceeds 14,000.

The Writers on the Subject of Luxury, whether for or againſt it, ought to have obſerved that Magnificence ſhould not be confounded with Luxury; but none of them have regarded this juſt diſtinction. Magnificence is eſſential in a Monarchical State, and abſolutely neceſſary to be kept up amongſt the Nobility. It produces, encourages and ſupports all uſeful and pleaſing Arts. Magnificence doth not ſpring from Pride. It takes its riſe from a certain greatneſs of Soul, but is not inconſiſtent with a decent œconomy upon ſome Occaſions, that on others a grand appearance may be made, ſuitable to the Rank of the Poſſeſſor, when circumſtances require Splendor and Shew to be the principal objects of Attention. On the other hand the Luxurious Perſon ſeems to inſult Mankind; for Luxury is an everlaſting and frivolous diſſipation of Subſtance. It is the delight and triumph of a mean Soul. It takes its birth from, and is nouriſhed by a ridiculous Inclination to appear to be what we are not, by putting ourſelves, with reſpect to Shew, upon a level with Perſons of a higher Rank. The perpetual longing after Superfluities that always haunts the Luxurious makes them inſenſible to the real neceſſities of others, nor can they relieve their wants.

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It inſpires the worſt ſort of Pride, whereby the Luxurious are made bad Relations, bad Friends, and worſe Citizens. Luxury, ſay ſome, engages us to improve Manufactures for the ſake of the new Modes and ſuperfluous Novelties which it daily invents. The Produce of theſe Manufactures goes to foreign Markets, and brings back into France all the wealth of Europe. If it is ſo, and if Riches be preferable to an upright Morality, this ſort of Luxury may be tolerated. But for what reaſon is the Government blind to the inconceivable ſwarm of Lackeys now in the Kingdom? Since the year 1720 their number has encreaſed in Paris and the Provinces above two thirds to what they were formerly. For this unaccountable Phœnomenon many reaſons may be aſſigned. In the firſt place there is hardly now a Citizen to be found ſo mean-ſpirited as to be without one Lackey, or ſomething dreſt up like a Lackey; though perhaps his Mother had not even a ſervant Maid to wait on her. In the next place, although in families of the firſt diſtinction there were only heretofore two Lackies for *Madam*, a valet de chambre and two lackies for the Maſter of the family, yet *now* in ſuch Houſes there muſt be two Valets de chambre and three Lackies for *Madam*, with the ſame number of Valets de chambre and Lackies for *Monſieur*. In

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the third place, although in ſuch families there were only in the Kitchen a Cook-maid, and a wench beneath her to do the drudgery, yet our People of Faſhion muſt now have a Man-Cook, under-Cooks, and an Officer of the Kitchen, with his boys under him, to keep all in nice order. To theſe differences in Œconomy add the great encreaſe of Coaches, and conſequently of Coachmen, and then you will be able to form ſome idea of the great depopulation occaſioned thereby annually, in all the different Countries from whence theſe ſupernumerary numbers of Domeſtics come. By conſidering theſe things in a proper manner, you will be convinced that, in a few ages, France will not be able to furniſh one half of the hands neceſſary for Agriculture and the Marine.

A Nobleman or other Perſon of high Rank might be diſtinguiſhed in public by a page before his Coach, with only one footman behind it. A page in this attitude would not only ſerve to confer a ſufficient mark of diſtinction, but alſo be attended with this further advantage on the ſide of Vanity, that Men of Fortune, who have no other title to Rank but their wealth, would not then be obliged to have recourſe to the expenſive expedient of three or four footmen behind their Coach, for the ſake of attracting the public at-

tention. Such a crowd of ſervants in livery, without one page in a plain dreſs, is a proof of an uncommon haughtineſs of temper, but not ſuch an evidence of a refined taſte as this appointment of one page with a ſingle footman only. As to Judges or Magiſtrates, it is certain that a plain coach is more decent and reſpectable than one that is varniſhed with Colours, and loaded with a heap of Footmen in rich liveries, whoſe glittering attire is quite inconſiſtent with the Modeſty of the Dreſs of Magiſtrates and Senatorial Gravity.

Gilles le Maitre, firſt Preſident of the Parliament in the reign of *Henry the II.* cauſed this ſtipulation to be inſerted in all the leaſes of his lands near Paris, That at the four great Feſtivals of the Year, and at Vintage time, they ſhould furniſh him with a covered Waggon and clean ſtraw in its bottom for his Wife and Daughter; and alſo bring along with them a male or female Aſs for their Maid-ſervant to ride on at the Proceſſions. He always rode before them upon a Mule, attended by his Clerk a foot.

Francis Montholon, Keeper of the Great Seal, attended *Francis the I.* to Rochelle, when there was an Inſurrection there. That Prince made him a Preſent of the Fine which he condemned the Rochellers in. *Montholon* releaſed it upon Condition that they ſhould build in their City an Hoſpital

Hoſpital for ſick Perſons. The Fine amounted to two hundred thouſand livres. The Chancellor lodged with his whole family in a ſmall corner houſe between St. *Andrew*'s Street and that of Gillicur, in which there were only one Hall and a little Kitchen on the Ground-floor, on the firſt floor two chambers, the ſame in the ſecond, with a Garret over head on the third floor.

There were found lying by a Jew that died at Paris, and who had neither Wife, Relations nor Child, fifty thouſand Crowns. *Henry the III.* made a Preſent of the half of this Treaſure to *Geoffry Camus* of Port-carre. This worthy Magiſtrate ſent for three young Merchants, Partners, that had lately been ruined by a fire, and gave them the whole of it, amounting to twenty-five thouſand Crowns. His Wife thought it an indecent piece of Luxury to wear a pair of ſilk Stockings, which an Aunt of hers, married to a Gentleman of Diſtinction, preſented her for a new Year's Giſt.

Never King levied more Taxes, or ſquandered away ſo much Money, in a manner ſo frivolous as *Henry the II.* yet no ſooner did the news arrive at Court of the loſs of the battle of St. *Quintin*, than the Merchants of Paris called a meeting of their whole body, and of their own accord made him a free Gift of one hundred thouſand crowns.

Every one of the great Barons offered to fortify and defend at his own Expence one Paſs or Station of conſequence. The Marſhal Duke of Briſac wrote to the King, entreating him to accept of all his Revenues, with a reſervation of two thouſand livres a year for the ſupport of his family. About two years afterwards the ſame Prince terrified by a falſe proſpect of danger, ſent orders to his Plenipotentiaries at Cambray to ſign the treaty of Peace. No ſooner was this noiſed abroad than the greateſt part of the Corporations, though incredibly diſtreſt with heavy impoſts, addreſſed their Sovereign with offers of more men and money for carrying on the war, in caſe he would refuſe to ratify a Treaty, whereby France parted with ſuch conſiderable conqueſts, which had been the price of ſo much blood and treaſure. Such were our Anceſtors at that time, and when? When their Morals were more depraved than ever before, but their characteriſtic of unſullied Loyalty was then as fair as formerly. The depravity of Morals is nearly equal at all times, but the decay of National character always preſages that Kingdoms fall where this unlucky Omen is obſerved. By National Character I mean, an implanted reſpectful Conſideration for its Reputation. This ſort of Self-love or Self-eſtimation is a continual ſource of emulation

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in our Country's cauſe, and of Strength and Harmony in the State.

We cannot inſpire young people with too ſtrong an eſteem for their countrymen, if it be true that the more any perſon cheriſhes and loves his own kindred, the farther he is removed from vicious practices.

Our Hiſtories frequently preſent us with ſhining Examples of Humanity, Impartiality, Courage, and a ſtrong attachment to Glory. Why are not theſe exemplary Lives often laid before and impreſſed upon our Youth in Schools and Univerſities? The great Actions of the Greeks and Romans cannot ſo effectually ſtrike our Minds, or rouſe us to Imitation, as thoſe of our Anceſtors. Theſe inſpire us with greater ardour, and infuſe a more active Spirit of Emulation.

The honeſt Man intereſts himſelf the more in the concerns of his Compatriots, that he regards them as the witneſſes of his Conduct in life: the rogue and the Man of yeſterday who is juſt come from the Dunghill wiſhes for a Mortality or a Peſtilence.

We have ſeen in our Days what our Fathers never dreamt of; we have ſeen French Writers attempt to infuſe into Mankind a Spirit of Contempt of the Female Sex. We have alſo ſeen

Frenchmen inceſſantly undervaluing their own Country for the ſake of propagating a high Opinion of a neighbouring Nation.

Our Anceſtors debarred from their Aſſemblies and Tournaments all perſons who were accuſed of mentioning the Ladies in a ſlighting manner. It was not owing to a principle of Humanity or gallantry that they acted in this way; no. Their Conduct in this reſpect was influenced by Views purely political; they were perſuaded, that the greater reſpect is paid to Women, the more anxious Women will be to merit our eſteem; that a Tutor may improve their Diſpoſition; that the ſofter Sex form their notions of Reputation at that age when Love engages us to offer them the firſt fruits of our Paſſions; that ſeveral great Men remarkable for elevated Sentiments would perhaps never have aſpired to that high diſtinction, if an inclination to appear amiable in the eyes of the *Fair* had not ſpurred them on to approve themſelves worthy of the higheſt Regard.

The City of Falaiſe joined in the League againſt *Henry the IV.* That Prince beſieged and was actually ſtorming it when *la Chenay*, a Merchant, then in love with a girl of his own rank, propoſed to his Sweetheart a ſcheme for her eſcaping in ſafety. *As I am perſuaded*, ſaid ſhe, *that you do not intend to deſert your fellow citizens while*

while in action, though ſincerely anxious for my ſafety, the propoſal you have now made neither leſſens the eſteem or Love I entertain for you; and, to prove the truth of what I ſay, I declare myſelf ready to unite my deſtiny with yours, by tyes that cannot be diſſolved. But our marriage muſt be ſolemnized at the breach; there I will plight you my faith: come along, follow me. She no ſooner had ended her ſpeech than ſhe flew to the walls. Her Lover's tears and entreaties were all thrown away to no purpoſe. On ſhe went till ſhe came to the ramparts. *There*, ſays Mezeray, *they fought with ſuch intrepidity that Henry the IV. an admirer of Virtue, commanded his troops to ſpare their lives, if it wos practicable: but la Chenay was ſlain by a muſket ball, and after he fell, his Bride refuſed to accept of quarter, but continued fighting till ſhe was mortally wounded. Then ſhe withdrew to her Lover's corpſe, that their blood might be mixed together, and in her laſt moments ſhe held him faſt in her arms, till death cloſed her eyes for ever.*

The Bards § among the Gauls were Poets, and reputed Perſons of great conſequence. They

§ *Bard*, in the Language of Brittany ſignifies a Poet, and *Buddoneg* a Poem, and ſtill in France wandering Poets that go from

marched at the head of their armies ſinging the Praiſes of their Country, and of thoſe that had given proofs of an extraordinary Valour, or were moſt prodigal of their blood in the ſervice of the Public. Under the firſt Race of our Kings, always under the ſecond, and often under the third, while the army was drawing up in order of Battle, it was uſual to ſing Panegyrics of that ſort till the ſignal was given for the Onſet. Then the ſhout * of War drowned all other ſounds.

It cannot be doubted that Military Songs or *Catches* ſtrongly amuſe and greatly relieve the Mind of the Soldier amidſt the toils of War. They are of uſe to divert him while he is employed in marching, and maintain in the camp a Martial gaiety. If the Chaplains of the army ſhould take upon them to give directions concerning the defence of the lines, what would the General

from town to town chanting the praiſes of great Men, are ſtiled Bards. They always play on the Harp while they ſing. *Tacitus* ſays [Demor. Germ. cap. 3.] that it was cuſtomary among the Germans to compoſe ſongs in honour of their Heroes, in which their moſt remarkable atchievements were celebrated; and that, on the field, as they marched to battle, theſe verſes were ſung to the muſic of a Harp, in order to inflame the courage of the army.

* Mont joie St. *Denis* was uſually called aloud by the French, as they marched on to the Charge; and every Knight Banneret had a particular word of call, by which he aſſembled his Vaſſals under his Standard.

General ſay? Tragedy and Comedy are of equal utility in Cities; they ſoften our manners, direct our deſires to proper Objects, ſhew us a true picture of our errors and their evil conſequences, teach us to hate Vice, reform our Conduct, and annihilate our Vanity.

We cultivate and exerciſe the Memories of our Youth in order to ſtrengthen them: but it ſeems to me of more conſequence to inure and accuſtom their minds to compaſſion by varied ſcenes of joy and ſorrow; for that Man is very certainly moſt virtuous whoſe Paſſions are moſt diſquieted at the ſight of the miſery of his fellow-creatures.

The monk contracts in the cloiſter a ſevere turn of Mind which renders him leſs ſenſible of the miſeries annexed to human Nature. He never aſſiſts the diſtreſſed but out of a principle of Conſcience; others relieve them in compaſſion of their wants. I honour the former, but I muſt love the latter.

I ſometimes ſtop and amuſe myſelf in obſerving two irrational animals at play together, but I hate the man that delights to ſet them a fighting, or him who is pleaſed with the ſight of two creatures tearing each other.

Luther loved Poetry, and made a good figure in verſifying. If he had always applied himſelf

to compoſitions of that ſort, four or five millions of men would have died natural deaths that have been ſlain in the religious Wars of Germany.

The action of our Tragedies is pathetic and terrifying; that of the Engliſh enormouſly cruel. With us it is an indiſpenſible Rule never to ſhed blood upon the Stage. In England the more blood is ſpilt, the more Men and Women ſlain, the more the Author is applauded. It is very common to ſee in the Engliſh Playhouſes gibbets and flames; nay, they ſcruple not to ſhew in public the moſt dreadful proſpects, ſuch as that of a Huſband familiarly converſing with his Wife; now careſſing, and the next moment ſtrangling her: or a fine young Lady weltring in her blood, with her hands cut off, or her tongue cut out of her head, after her Chaſtity has been forcibly violated. It is certain that the Polite Arts are not encouraged among that People any farther than it ſuits their predominant Whims to promote their progreſs. Nor is it leſs notorious that a Dramatic writer cannot hope to pleaſe in London, unleſs the Objects and Images which he preſents in his piece be analogous to the Character, bent, and prevailing taſte of the people. It may therefore be conjectured from the ſtriking Difference obſervable between the French and Engliſh Theatrical

trical performances, that the Soul of an Engliſh-man is ſullen, fierce and cruel, but that of a Frenchman briſk, lively, impatient of Injuries, ſoon rouſed to wrath, but generous in his rage, always idolizing Honour, and inceſſantly obeying her voice, even when moſt diſturbed by the violence of Paſſion, and never ſo much intoxicated by Wrath as not to be ready to entertain propoſals of Reconciliation, and ever forward to forgive. Nay, what is very remarkable, he is always deſirous of laying aſide all Animoſity ſo ſoon as he ſees his Enemies blood.

The French in their Comedies repreſent Love, as being a tender Paſſion, delicate and ſincere. In thoſe of the Engliſh, Love is held forth to be a rude, brutal, and impudent deſire of Enjoyment. The Engliſh make their Libertine on the Stage, ſpeak and act in the chamber of lewdneſs like perſons inflamed with the tranſports of Love; this may ſerve as another proof of the ferocity of the Nation; the ferocious Man is all ſenſation.

Let your ſon and daughter apply themſelves every day to the reading of Corneille, interrogate and inſtruct them in the details and intereſt of every Scene: I queſtion whether you can give them a better education.

If Corneille had been born in ancient Rome, he would have been the firſt man of the Republic:

the career to the great dignities of that government lay open to every citizen, and one might there be the artiſt of one's own fortune. In a monarchical ſtate it is neceſſary to have Protectors at court, and it frequently happens that real merit is too modeſt to hope for them, or too haughty to ſeek them.

I am ſurpriſed that amongſt the many authors who have written upon the original progreſs of our Stage, none have obſerved that Comedy has been for a long while one of the organs of politics in France, as it was anciently amongſt the Athenians. The Court engaged the comic Poets to treat of matters relative to the State, and to mention the preſent ſituation of the Kingdom, in order to prepare the People for the levying of Taxes, by prepoſſeſſing, animating, and heating them upon the juſtice and neceſſity of the Wars that were undertaken. I could quote ſeveral examples of this, but I ſhall take notice only of one. *Lewis XII.* waged war againſt *Julius II.* who had baſely impoſed upon him, and who had the aſſurance moreover to renew the extravagant claims of ſome of his Predeceſſors upon the King's temporalities. A piece wherein this thundering Pontiff was perſonated under the name of the *Prince of Fools*, accompanied by *Mother-fool* who wanted to paſs herſelf off for the Church,

was

was repreſented at the *Halles* at Paris, upon Shrove-Tueſday 1511.

Mother-Fool,

Dreſſed in the Tiara and pontifical Habit, and underneath like a female Merry Andrew.

" If I knew how to die like Abiram and " Dathan, or was damned with Satan, would " they come to my aſſiſtance? I would make " every one run after me, to aſk pardon and " mercy at my Shrine. The temporal (Prince) * " is deſirous of acquiring my name and making " it flouriſh. In a word this is my deſign. I call " myſelf the Mother Church: I would have " every one take notice that I damn and anathe- " matize; but under the ſacerdotal robe I wear " the fool's gown. I know it is ſaid that I am " doating, and that I have turned fool in my old " age *: But my Sire the † Prince will grumble ‡

* In alluſion to the pretenſions of *Julius I.* upon the temporality of Kings.

* *Julius II.* was at that time upwards of 70 years old.

† The kings of France are called the eldeſt ſons of the church.

‡ *Julius II.* threatened France with being interdicted, and of citing *Lewis XII.* the clergy of France, and the Parliament of *Paris*, to appear before him.

" at

" at my gate in ſuch a manner as will diminiſh
" his nobility."

She endeavours in another ſcene to draw over the French Lords to her party, but finding ſhe cannot ſucceed, ſhe addreſſes herſelf to ſuch of the clergy as ſhe has ſeduced, and ſays to them,

" Prelates ariſe, alarm, alarm --quit the
" church and altar---each of you be ſteady- -
" As the aſſault is going to be given to the
" Princes, I would be there in (1) perſon."

To the aſſault, Prelates, to the aſſault.

The Prelates attack the French Lords, who repulſe them, and drive them off the ſtage, after giving them a hearty drubbing. *Mother-Fool* is afterwards more cloſely examined, and is diſcovered not to be the Church: they laugh at her, and ſtrip off the Tiara (2) and pontifical dreſs which ſhe profaned.

Every one is acquainted with the Bickerings between *Philip the Fair* and *Boniface VIII. Philip the Fair* during the life of that Pope, and for a

(1) *Julius II.* put on the Cuiraſſe, and appeared in the Trenches with a Caſque upon his head.

(2) Alluding to a council aſſembled at *Piſa*, to judge *Julius II.* and depoſe him.

con-

conſiderable time after his death, had a Farce often acted at *Paris*, called the *Proceſſion of the Fox.* A man covered with a Fox's ſkin, had a ſurplice put over it, and ſung the epiſtle as a ſimple clerk; he afterwards appeared with a Mitre, and at length with the Tiara, *running after hens and chickens, which he craunched and ate, to ſignify the exactions of Boniface VIII.*

The Chancellor de l'Hopital, in a ſpeech he made to the States-General at the opening of this meeting in 1561. ſaid, that the good King *Lewis XII.* took pleaſure in the repreſentation of Farces and Comedies, even in ſuch as were performed without much reſerve, ſaying that thereby he became acquainted with many things that were done in his kingdom, which he would otherwiſe have been ignorant of.

I think it extremely uſeful for a King to be often at theatrical repreſentations. They are the images of common life, and conſequently of the vices, anxieties, misfortunes, and calamities which affect the different claſſes of his ſubjects. Dramatic pictures, it may be ſaid, are only general. They do not mention names, I agree; but a King knows, at leaſt, that ſuch corruption, ſuch abuſe of his authority, and ſuch little tyrannies exiſt: he knows it, and that is a great deal.

Philip de Comines ſays, *that Charles VIII. had*

eſtabliſhed

eſtabliſhed a public audience, where he heard every one, and particularly the poor. Much buſineſs, adds he, *was not done at theſe audiences, bus it ſerved at leaſt to keep the people in awe, and principally his miniſters and officers, ſome of whom he had ſuſpended for malverſation.*

Lewis XIV. as he returned from Maſs, always caſt his eyes about him, and ſeemed by his air and look to invite people to approach him. A Swiſs one day called out to clear the way, though there was room enough, and puſhed ſeveral by-ſtanders: *Do not you ſee*, ſaid *Lewis XIV.* in an angry tone, *that there is a woman who wants to preſent a memorial to me?* The memorials that were preſented to him he locked up in a little cabinet, and kept the key himſelf.

At Rome, thoſe ſlaves who had cruel and unjuſt maſters, repaired to the public ſquare, and embraced the ſtatute of the Emperor. This was an aſylum, from whence they could not be forced, and it was the Emperor's duty, before he ſat down to table, to ſend and ſee whether any one had taken refuge at the foot of his ſtatue.

Our hiſtorians have ſeldom given themſelves the trouble to tranſmit to us the particulars of ancient cuſtoms; they only mention them by the bye. The verbal proceſs which the reader is going to peruſe, and which I have copied from

from a MS. in the King's Library, contains the ceremonies which our Kings and the Princes of Europe obſerved before they began a war. They reſemble in ſome reſpects the manner in which the Romans declared it; the Senate diſpatched a Herald to the Frontiers of the Country which they had reſolved to attack, and this Herald calling three men to witneſs the tranſaction, threw a dart into the Territories of the adverſe Nation.

"*John Gratiolet*, ſecretary to the Herald of "arms of France, by the title of Alençon, in "virtue of the commiſſion given at *St. Quintin* "under the privy-ſeal, the 12th of the preſent "month of May 1635, ſigned *Lewis*, and un-"derneath by the King, Servien, certifies to all "thoſe to whom it may belong, that having ſet "out from Neufchatel upon Aine, the 12th of "the ſaid month in the ſaid year, and having "taken the route of the Low Countries to meet "the Cardinal Infant of Spain, and having learnt "that he was at Bruſſels, I repaired the 19th of the "preſent month, at nine in the morning to the gate "of the ſaid city, called the gate de Hau, accom-"panied by *Gratian Eliſſavide*, the king's trum-"peter in ordinary, and having taken my Coat of "Arms in quality of Alençon, together with my "cap and ſtaff as in ſuch caſes required, I ſtopped

"about

" about 200 paces from the gate, whilſt the ſaid " trumpeter advanced to it, and ſounded the *Cha-* " *mades* in the uſual manner. The ſaid trumpeter " having obſerved four or five men who were " centinels at the gate, addreſſed himſelf to one " of them, telling him he conducted a Herald at " Arms from the King his maſter to the Cardi- " nal Infant; and this man having ſpoken to the " Serjeant Major of the ſaid city, and the ſaid " Serjeant having come up to me, I aſſured him " that I was come to ſpeak with the ſaid Cardi- " nal Infant. Then the ſaid Serjeant Major re- " turned into the city to acquaint the Cardinal " of my arrival, and coming about twelve o'clock, " he informed me that this Prince had promiſed " to give me an audience, and had appointed " him to conduct me to the Serjeant Major's " houſe to wait till I could be received: the ſaid " Serjeant Major deſiring me, to that end, to be " pleaſed to come into the city without my " Herald's dreſs; but I declared to him I could " not quit it; he had with him *Golden Fleece*, " King at Arms of the Low Countries. Being " introduced into their company at the houſe of " the Serjeant Major, in the ſquare of Sablon, " the Serjeant Major returned to the Prince's pa- " lace to know the hour that I might be con- " ducted to his preſence: he did not return till

" two

" two o'clock in the afternoon, when he aſſured
" me that I ſhould have an audience of the ſaid
" Prince, but that he was prevented giving it me
" in council on account of his departure which
" would be about four o'clock, to go and lie at
" Louvain, though the ſaid Serjeant Major, the
" King of the Heralds; and ſeveral others had aſ-
" ſured me that the ſaid Cardinal Infant was not
" to ſet out till Monday the 21ſt. Finding theſe
" delays, I preſſed the ſaid Serjeant Major to tell
" me, whether I might hope to be heard by the
" ſaid Cardinal Infant, and having aſſured me of
" it, he returned for the third time to the ſaid
" Prince's palace, to know the preciſe hour. In
" the mean while two other Heralds came to the
" houſe where I was, one of them bearing the
" title of Hainaut, and the other Gueldres, and
" entered into diſcourſe with me about the colour
" of my Coat of Arms, and the method I ſhould
" obſerve in talking to the Prince; I replied that
" I only wanted them to diſpatch me quickly,
" and to ſuſpend their curioſity. At ſix o'clock
" in the evening, the Serjeant Major returned
" with a man ſent to know if I had any letter or
" other paper to tranſmit to their Prince: I ſaid
" I had anſwered this queſtion in the morning;
" they continued telling me that if I had a war-
" ranted commiſſion to ſpeak to the ſaid Prince,

" I

" I was to ſhew it; I replied that my commiſſion
" conſiſted in what I was to ſay, and that I
" would not ſhew it, but by ſpeaking to the ſaid
" Prince; then they aſked me if I had an ena-
" mel marked with my office, and if I had ob-
" ſerved the proper formalities in entering into
" the Low Countries; to all this I anſwered,
" that ſince I was prevented from ſpeaking to the
" Cardinal Infant by ſo many obſtacles, I ſhould
" make known the effect of my power; then,
" taking out of my pocket the declaration which
" I was to have made to the ſaid Cardinal In-
" fant, and wanting to give it to the ſaid Envoy,
" he ſaid he had no authority to take any thing,
" and retired; the Serjeant Major on his part
" retired alſo; I thereupon went out with the
" three abovementioned Heralds, and having
" mounted my horſe, I told them to receive the
" ſaid declaration; they ſaid they could not,
" deſiring me to wait ſome little time, and that
" thoſe gentlemen would return; but ſeven
" o'clock having ſtruck without their returning,
" I told the Herald, holding the ſaid paper in
" my hand, that it was the declaration that I was
" to have made from the King my maſter to the
" Cardinal Infant, and threw the ſaid declara-
" tion at their feet, before the door of the ſaid
" Serjeant Major, in the ſquare du Sablon;

" where-

" whereupon the ſaid Heralds cried out to the " people who were there aſſembled, not to touch " the paper." The contents of it were, *The Herald at Arms of France, by the title of Alençon, underſigned, certifies to all thoſe whom it may concern, that he is come into the Low Countries from the King his Maſter, his only Sovereign Lord, to meet the Cardinal Infant of* Spain, *and to tell him that ſince he would not reſtore liberty to the Archbiſhop of Treves, Elector of the Empire, who had put himſelf under his Majeſty's protection, when he could not obtain any from the Emperor, or any other Prince; and that ſince in contempt of the dignity of the Empire, and in oppoſition to the Law of Nations, he detains a Sovereign Prince priſoner, who had committed no hoſtilities againſt him, his Majeſty declares to him that he is reſolved to have ſatisfaction by arms for this offence, which intereſts all the Princes of Chriſtendom.*

" Immediately after having thrown down " the ſaid declaration, I made my way through " the crowd of people acroſs the ſaid ſquare of " Sablon, and came out of the gate de Hau to " retire into France. Being arrived about nine " in the morning, the 21ſt of the preſent month " and year, upon the frontiers of the Low Coun- " tries, at a village called Rouilli, having a poſt " in my hand, I planted it upon the high road

" from

" from Aveſnes to la Chapelle towards Eſtreule-
" Cauchi, another village of the Low Coun-
" tries; upon which poſt I affixed a copy of the
" ſaid declaration, and having met a Peaſant
" coming from church, I told him that I had
" affixed the ſaid manifeſto from the King my
" Maſter, againſt the Cardinal Infant of Spain,
" and that he was to acquaint the Mayor or ſome
" other Magiſtrate of the place therewith; and
" the ſaid Peaſant having called the ſaid Mayor,
" and ſhewn him to me, I certified the ſame to
" the ſaid Mayor, and ſaw him with other per-
" ſons, make towards the ſaid poſt: the afore-
" ſaid Eliſſavide, trumpeter in ordinary to the
" King, having ſounded the uſual chamades.
" The truth whereof we certify the day and
" year aforeſaid."

A Prince took off his coat, and gave it to the Herald who brought him an agreeable piece of news. *The Queen*, ſays John Chartier, *being brought to bed of a ſon on February the 4th* 1435, *the King* (Charles VII.) *diſpatched the Herald named* Conſtance, *to carry the news to the Duke of Burgundy; at which the Duke appeared extremely joyful, and gave the Herald* 100 *riders of gold, and an embroidered robe which he then had on.*

It

It ſhould ſeem, that the period of great crimes is alſo the period of diſtinguiſhed virtues. During the civil wars in the reign of *Charles IX.* and *Henry III.* every inſtant we diſcover acts of the moſt ſtriking magnanimity.

D'Aubigné * one of the chiefs of the Huguenot party, waged war in Saintonge; he fell into an ambuſcade, and was taken priſoner; he obtained from *St. Luc*, who commanded the catholic troops in that Province, to go and paſs ſome days at Rochelle upon his parole. He was ſcarce gone before *St. Luc* received orders to ſend him to Bourdeaux, well ſecured and guarded; he did not doubt but *Catharine de Médicis* and the Duke *d'Epernon*, wanted to ſacrifice him to their revenge; he had deeply offended them by ſome ſatires which were as poignant as they were true. *St. Luc*, who had given him ſecret intelligence not to return, was very much aſtoniſhed and ſorry to ſee him come back: Sir, ſays *D'Aubigné*, I am come to deliver myſelf up to you agreeable to the parole which I gave you, and becauſe I ſhould otherwiſe have expoſed you to a ſuſpicious and cruel court; I know my death has been reſolved upon there; my enemies ſhall ſatisfy their hatred, and I ſhall have diſcharged what I owe

* Memoirs of *Madam de Maintenon.*

to

to honour and gratitude. Was this exceeded by the ſo much boaſted action of *Regulus? Guitaut* the King's Lieutenant in the iſlands of Rhé and Oleron, was taken by the Rochellers; they threatened to throw him into the Sea, if *D'Aubigné* was removed to Bordeaux: by this means *St. Luc* had a pretence for keeping him and ſaving his life.

In 1590 the League Party aſked ſome troops of the King of Spain. Upon the news of their being diſembarked, *Barri de S. Aunez*, *Henry* the *IVth's* Governor at Leucate, ſet out to communicate a ſcheme to the Duke *de Montmorenci*, commander in that Province; he was taken in his way by ſome of the troops of the League, who were alſo upon their march with the Spaniards towards Leucate, perſuaded that having the Governor in their hands, the gates of that place would be immediately opened to them, or at beſt that it would not hold out long; but *Conſtantia de Cezelli* * his wife, after having convened the Garriſon, put herſelf ſo reſolutely at their head, pike in hand, that ſhe inſpired the weakeſt with courage; the beſiegers were repulſed wherever they preſented themſelves. Shame and their great loſs had rendered them deſperate;

* She was of an ancient and wealthy family of Montpellier.

they

they therefore ſent a meſſage to that courageous woman, to acquaint her that if ſhe continued to defend herſelf, they would hang her huſband. I have riches in abundance, replied ſhe with tears in her eyes; I have offered them, and I do ſtill offer them for his ranſom; but I would not ignominiouſly purchaſe a life which he would reproach me with, and which he would be aſhamed to enjoy; I will not diſhonour him by treaſon towards my Country and King. The beſiegers having attempted a freſh attack, without ſucceeding better than in the former, put *Barri* to death, and raiſed the Siege. The Garriſon wanted to make repriſals upon the Lord of *Loupian*, who was of the League, and who had been taken priſoner; our Heroine oppoſed it. *Henry IV.* ſent her the brevet of Governeſs of Leucate, with the reverſion for her Son.

Margaret de Valois made war againſt *Henry III.* her Brother, and the king of Navarre, her Huſband. She had encamped her ſmall army before Villeneuve d'Agenois: She ordered thirty or forty Soldiers to conduct Charles de Cicutat to the foot of the walls, and to put him to death, if his Son, who commanded the place refuſed to open the gates. Cicutat, after this ſhameful ſummons had been given his Son, cried out to him, *Think of the fidelity and duty of a Frenchman, and that*

if I were capable of bidding you ſurrender, it would be no longer your Father who ſpoke to you, but a traitor, a coward, an enemy to your honour and to the King. The Guards had already their arms uplifted, and even going to ſmite, when young Cicutat made them a ſignal; the gate was opened, he came out with three or four men, feigning to enter into a conference, but immediately taking ſword in hand, he fell with ſuch impetuoſity upon thoſe who held their drawn ſwords over his father, and was ſo expeditiouſly ſeconded by ſeveral ſoldiers of the Garriſon, that he was delivered.

The crimes of *Catharine de Medicis* are uſually attributed to her luſt of governing, and to the embarraſments ſhe found herſelf in between the Guiſes, and the Chiefs of the Calviniſt party. For my part, after having read, examined, and diſcuſſed all that has been written for and againſt her, I am of opinion, that formed to create diſturbances and to deſtroy, they were the propenſity of her ſoul, which like the ſeed of an infectious creature becomes a ſcourge; that authority without perplexities would not have flattered her vanity; that ſhe was pleaſed only in the midſt of ſtorms, and that ſhe would have ſown diſcord and diviſion in the moſt tranquil and ſubmiſſive Court. Nothing unveils better the vileneſs of her character

character than the education ſhe gave her children; ſhe was deſirous that cockfighting and the battling of dogs, and other animals, ſhould be amongſt their uſual recreations: if there was any remarkable execution at the Greve, ſhe carried them thither; and to render them as laſcivious as blood-thirſty, ſhe gave them from time to time little regales, when her Maids of honour with their hair flowing, and crowned with flowers, waited at table half-naked. *Charles IX.* naturally very impetuous, had in other reſpects great qualities,—education entirely perverted them. *Papire Maſſon* relates that one of this Prince's greateſt pleaſures was to ſhew his dexterity by ſtriking off at one blow, the heads of Aſſes and Hogs that he met in his way as he was going to the Chace; and that one day *Lanſac*, one of his favourites, having found him ſword in hand againſt his Mule, gravely aſked him, *What quarrel then has ariſen between his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty and my Mule?**

The maſſacre of the Huguenots was as ſhocking in ſeveral Cities of the Kingdom as it had been at Paris. Above 2000 were deſtroyed at Lyons. The Executioner of that City, whom

* Carolo irruenti in Mulum Lanſaci, inter aulicos gratio ſi, quod tibi diffidium, inquit, cum mulo meo interceſſit, Rex Chriſtianiſſime?

the Governor ordered to go and diſpatch ſome who were in the priſons, anſwered him, *that he worked only in a judicial way.* Here is the vileſt of Men by his condition, who has more honour than a Queen and her Council.

Catharine de Medicis, the Guiſes, the Chancellor de Birague, and the Gondis, were foreigners who ruled the Kingdom. They planned and directed the plot of the maſſacre of St. Bartholomew. Methinks our Nation ſhould be leſs reproached with the infamy ariſing from thence, than the Romans with that of the Proſcriptions: *Sylla* and *Auguſtus* were Romans.

Our religious wars brought great quantities of gold and ſilver into Trade: the Catholics, like the Calviniſts, converted the church plate into ſpecie. The Council of the League to ſupport the Siege of Paris againſt *Henry IV.* ordered, with the advice and conſent of the Biſhop and Legate, that all Eccleſiaſtics ſhould carry their church plate to the Mint, excepting only the ſacred Veſſels abſolutely neceſſary for Divine Service.

Extract from the Regiſters of the Mint

May 29th 1590, Received from the Treaſurer *Roland*, and the Eccleſiaſtics of the Abbey of *St.*

St. Denis *, a golden Crucifix weighing nineteen Marks four Ounces five Grains, which was melted.

Moreover, June 16th 1590, Received of the ſame Eccleſiaſtics, a golden Crown, weighing ten Marks ten Ounces all but two Grains, which was melted.

Bad Women are almoſt always weak and ſuperſtitious. *Catharine de Medicis* did not only believe in judicial Aſtrology, but even in Magic; ſhe wore upon her Stomach a Skin of Vellum, others ſay the Skin of a Child whoſe Throat had been cut, inſcribed with Figures, Letters, and Characters of different colours: She was perſuaded that this Skin had the Virtue to ſecure her from any attack that might be made upon her Perſon. She cauſed the column of the Hotel de Soiſſons to be erected, in the ſhaft of which there is a winding Staircaſe to go up to the armillary Sphere, which is atop, where ſhe went to conſult the Stars with her Aſtrologers. This Column has 18 Gutters, and there are to be ſeen in ſome Places, Trophies, C's and H's interſecting each other, broken Looking-Glaſſes, and Love-Knots rent; allegorical Figures ſignifying the Widow-

* They had carried the Treaſure of this Abbey to Paris, and had depoſited it in the Church of *St. Croix* de la Bretonnerie.

hood of this Princeſs, and that ſhe devoted herſelf entirely to grief for the loſs ſhe had ſuſtained. If ſome Hiſtorians are to be credited, ſhe did not let herſelf be wanting in conſolatory Friends; among others they mention *Francis de Vendome, Vidame de Chartres*, and *Troilus de Meſgouez*, a Gentleman of Britanny. I believe ſuch a Woman might have conſtitutional irruptions, but that ſhe was neither capable, nor certainly, worthy of being ſenſible to Love.

The Marchioneſs *d'Etrees*, mother to the fair Gabriel, was killed in an inſurrection at Iſſoire in Auvergne; probably her Body remained indecently expoſed in the Street, becauſe a faſhion had been introduced and followed for ſome time amongſt the Ladies of high rank; they did not wear top knots of different colours only upon their Heads.

By an edict given at *Rouſillon-Chateau* in Dauphiny, in 1564, *Charles IX.* fixed the beginning of the Year 1565 to the firſt of January, whereas before that time the Year did not begin till Eaſter. It appears to me that it ought to commence on the 21ſt of December, or rather the 21ſt of March.

The imagination of *Henry III.* indulged itſelf in melancholy ideas. During his mourning for the Princeſs of *Condé*, whom he had paſſionately

ately loved, he cauſed little death's heads to be painted upon the points of his Cloaths, and upon his Shoe Ribbons: at the death of *Catharine de Medicis* he ordered all the Tapeſtry in the Apartments of the Caſtle of Blois where he then reſided to be taken down, and had it painted black ſprinkled with Tears. He had conceived a very uncommon project: this was to cut ſix Walks in the Wood of Boulogne, which ſhould terminate in the ſame center; he would here have erected a magnificent Monument, wherein to depoſit his own Heart, and thoſe of the Kings his Succeſſors. Every Knight of the Order of the Holy Ghoſt, was to have erected a marble Tomb for himſelf with his Statue; and theſe Tombs along the Walks, were to be ſeparated one from the other by a little ſpace, planted with Yew-trees cut in different Shapes: *In a hundred Years*, ſaid he, *this will be a very amuſing Walk; there will be at leaſt four hundred Tombs in this Wood.*

Lewis of Anjou-Tarente, of the Houſe * of France, King of Jeruſalem and Sicily, by his marriage with *Jane I.* Queen of Naples, his Couſin, inſtituted an Order of the Holy Ghoſt in that

† He deſcended from *Charles Count of Anjou*, brother to *St. Lewis.*

City, in 1352. Moſt of our Hiſtorians ſay, that by reaſon of the troubles, wherewith his reign was agitated after the Year 1354, this Order of the Holy Ghoſt could not ſupport itſelf; and perhaps we ſhould have been ignorant of its exiſtence, if by accident the original title of its inſtitution had not fallen into the hands of a noble Venetian, who preſented it to *Henry III.* when he paſſed through Venice, on his return to Poland; that this Prince wanting to avail himſelf of the hint, kept it very ſecret, and after having got *Chiverni*, who was afterwards Chancellor of France, to extract what he wanted from it for his new Order, he ordered it to be burnt; that *Chiverni* preſerved this ſcarce and curious Piece, partly on account of the beautiful Vellum miniatures with which it was ornamented; that after his death it was placed in the Library of his Son the Biſhop of Chartres, and from this Library it paſſed into that of the Preſident de Maiſons. If theſe Hiſtorians had read the Statutes of the Order of the Holy Ghoſt of Naples, inſtituted, as I have juſt ſaid, in 1352, they would have found that they are the ſame as thoſe of the Order of the Star inſtituted at Paris, a year before, by King *John* in 1531; that theſe being very well known, *Henry III.* could not think of taking

taking a hint from them, and that conſequently all they related upon that head was falſe.

The Order of *St. Michael*, inſtituted by *Lewis XI.* in 1469, maintained itſelf with ſplendour under the reigns of *Charles VIII. Lewis XII. Francis I.* and *Henry II.* but the great number of Perſons deſtitute of Merit and Birth, who were inveſted with it, in the reigns of *Francis II.* and *Charles IX.* debaſed it and brought it into contempt. *Henry III.* without aboliſhing it, reſolved to eſtabliſh one upon its Foundation *, which ſhould be a mark of the higheſt diſtinction; he inſtituted it accordingly under the name and in honour of the Holy Ghoſt, becauſe on Whitſunday 1573, he had been elected King of Poland, and on the ſame Day 1574 he had ſucceeded to the Crown of France. He flattered himſelf that amidſt the troubles which the League fomented againſt him, he would keep the Nobility of his Kingdom † to their Duty, and attach them to him, not only by the hopes of entering into his new Order, and the particular Oath which every Knight would make upon his admiſſion, but ſtill more

* One muſt be admitted a Knight of St. Michael, before receiving the Order of the Holy Ghoſt.

† It was in the ſame Circumſtances, and with the ſame View, that King *John* and *Lewis XI.* inſtituted their Orders.

by motives of Intereſt. He aſked the Pope's approbation to put a hundred Abbeys of France *in commendam*, and to have the power of conferring them upon his new Knights, though married; the Pope would not conſent to it, and the Clergy did not fail oppoſing it, being moreover inſtigated thereto by the Chiefs of the League. Nevertheleſs the Knights of the Order of the Holy Ghoſt have always continued to take the title of *Commandeurs* agreeable to their inſtitution; and each of them enjoys, till they obtain *Commanderies*, an annual gratification of a thouſand Crowns, upon the Revenue of the Golden Mark.

When the King names any one to be ſimply Knight of *St. Michael*, he appoints a Knight Commander of his § Orders to receive him, that is to ſay, to adminiſter the Oaths to him, and give him the embrace and collar; but the King himſelf receives, in ſome Church after Maſs, thoſe whom he has choſen to be Knights of the Holy Ghoſt. He begins the Evening preceding, or the ſame Morning before Maſs, to receive them in his Cloſet, as Knights of *St. Michael.*

§ The Knights of the Order of the Holy Ghoſt are ſtiled Knights of the King's Order, becauſe they are Knights of the Order of St. Michael and that of the Holy Ghoſt.

After

After the new Knight has taken the Oath, he who receives him, draws his Sword, and gives him a ſtroke with the flat ſide *upon the nape of his Neck*; he afterwards embraces him as a ſign of Brotherhood. Formerly this ſtroke was ſometimes given with the palm of the Hand. In the Romance of William with the ſhort Noſe, in deſcribing the Ceremonies of his reception, when he was admitted a Knight by *Charlemain*, it is ſaid, *Charlemain kiſſed his Mouth and Chin, and with his right Hand ſtruck him on the hinder part of the neck.*

What does this blow ſignify? Some ſay, *It is to make the new Knight remember the Oath he has taken, and all the troubles which he is to prepare himſelf for, and which he is to ſupport with patience, if he would worthily fill his new Station.* Others ſay, *It is to advertiſe him that this affront is the laſt he is to ſuffer.* The information would not be very polite.—I ſhall riſk ſome Notions that have ſtruck me upon the origin of this ancient Cuſtom.

None was looked upon as a Soldier till he had been created a Knight. In a regiſter of the Chamber of Accounts intitled *Jornale Theſauri*, it may be ſeen, that Soldier and Knight ſignified the ſame thing; it is there ſaid, *Philippus, filius*

Ludovici, factus eſt miles in Penteceſte, anno 1267. *Philippus Pulcher factus eſt miles, anno* 1284. Was not a blow given to him who was made a Knight, that is to ſay a Soldier, the ſame thing as to intimate to him the ſubmiſſion which every Soldier owes his Commander?

As ſoon as a perſon was created a Knight, however young he might be, he was emancipated. *He might make uſe of Arms and enjoy his Rights; he became a real* * *Man, a Member of the State, whereas before he was only a Member of his own Family.* Is not the cuſtom of giving a blow to the perſon who was created a Knight, and who conſequently was emancipated, derived from the Ceremony practiſed amongſt the Romans when a Bondſman was ſet at Liberty? The *Pretor* ſtruck him with a Wand upon the Neck, ſaying, *I declare you free after the manner of the Romans.*

Amongſt the Romans, a perſon could not make uſe of Arms, and was no Soldier, till he had taken the Military Oath. Every Soldier in taking it, laid his naked Sword upon his Neck, to teſtify his entire devotion to the Emperor: *Gladiis* †

* *Militaribus eum in virum perfectum dedicavit ſacramentis.* Lambertus Ardenſis.

† We find in Calepin and all the Gloſſaries, that *cervix* ſignifies the nape of the Neck.

cervicibus

cervicibus ſuis admotis, ſolemniter juravere. Amm. Marcellin. L. 21.

Dubbing, according to ſome is embracing, and according to others is the Blow that is given upon the Neck of the new Knight, *adcolata.* Be this as it may, it is upon the Neck that the Blow is to be given, and not upon the Shoulder as is now practiſed.

Tacitus ſays *, *that every Prince amongſt the Germans, has ſeveral Warriors about him, who are particularly and indiſſolubly attached to him. The moſt ſacred of their engagements*, adds he, *is to cover and defend him upon all occaſions, to have no other glory than his, and to attribute to him all the Merit, and all the Honour of their Exploits, were he killed in Battle; they would be looked upon with contempt if they ſurvived § him.* This ſeems to me to be the origin of the Orders of Knighthood, and of the particular Oath whereby every Knight in ſome meaſure renounces himſelf, that he may be entirely devoted to the perſon of this Prince.

* De Moribus Germ. c. 13 & 14.

§ Amongſt the Cimbri and the Cimmerians, there were alſo Warriors who made an Oath to the King not to ſurvive him, whether he died of Sickneſs, or was killed in Battle; the King on his ſide was obliged to cut off a little bit of his Ear, when any one of theſe Warriors was killed.

The

The dreſs of a Novice, or one who has been named to be received a Knight of the Order of the Holy Ghoſt, conſiſts of a doublet and truſs of Silver * ſtuff, ſilk Stockings, and white Shoes; the Sword ſheath is of the ſame colour; the guard and pummel are Silver; he has round his Neck a band of Engliſh point, and upon his Shoulder a cloak made of ſhorn Velvet; his Cap, which he wears inſtead of a Hat, is black, ornamented with a plume of white Feathers and a Heron's Maſs; he proſtrates himſelf at the King's feet, his Majeſty being ſeated upon a Throne near the Altar, and after he has taken and ſigned the Oath, his cloak is taken off, and the King gives him the great mantle and collar of the Order. This great mantle, which is turned up on the left ſide, and open on the right, is made of a yellow brown Velvet §, lined with ſtrong Sattin; it is decorated with flames or *tongues of Fire*, embroidered with Gold, and is likewiſe all around embroidered with Gold to the width of ten inches; the ſhort mantle over this is embroidered in the ſame manner, and falls over the

* This is to recall to mind the ancient cuſtoms. Neither a Prince nor his Wife could wear any thing but Silver upon their Cloaths, till ſuch time as he was knighted.

§ It was at firſt black.

ſhoulders

ſhoulders and ſtomach ; it is made of light green Mohair and Silver. The embroidery of the great and little mantles, and the links of the great collar form the Greek letters Λ, Φ and Δ, with *H*'s and *M*'s. The Leaguers, who inceſſantly endeavoured to decry all the Actions of *Henry III.* gave out amongſt the People, that notions of gallantry rather than devotion, had induced this Prince to invent this new Order : that the orange colour, the light green, the white and the blue, were his Miſtreſs's colours ; that the *H*'s and *M*'s * interlaced ſignified his name and that of his Miſtreſs ; that the Θ and Δ meant aſſurances of his fidelity, and the Flower de luce in the midſt of Flames the ardour of his love. *Henry IV.* to remove theſe evil interpretations ‡, had, in 1597,

* *Henry* and *Margaret* his Siſter.

‡ What moſt Hiſtorians relate in regard to the Golden Fleece is ſtill more ridiculous and indecent. *It is ſaid* (according to *Favin* and *la Colombiere*) that *Philip the Good*, Duke of Burgundy, coming one morning into the apartment of a Lady whom he loved, found upon her toilet a little tuft of fine curled Hair ; that the Lady by her baſhfulneſs and colouring proved ſhe was much diſpleaſed by the diſcovery, and more ſo as ſome Courtiers who were preſent fell a laughing ; that the Duke appeaſed her by his careſſes, and promiſed to inſtitute an Order which ſhould be diſtinguiſhed by the title of the Golden Fleece, in which thoſe who had made a joke of this fine white Hair, ſhould not have the honour of being admitted.

all

all theſe cyphers and monograms removed; ſo that the links of the grand collar and the embroidery of the great and little mantles no longer form any thing but trophies and golden crowns, with *H*'s in Silver.

In 1584, the King *, his chancellor, the courtiers and miniſters, were ſeen walking two of a breaſt through the ſtreets of Paris, covered from head to foot with a large ſackcloth, tied round with a thick cord, and each of them holding a ſcourge in his hand, wherewith to flagellate his ſhoulders. In 1509, Monks of all ſorts in the dreſs of their different orders, with a Helmet upon their Head, a Sword by their Side, and a Fuſee upon their Shoulder, were ſeen walking four and four commanded by a Biſhop with a Halbert in his Hand.

Henry III. affords a proof that the longeſt ſupineneſs in a ſoft effeminate life, does not ſtifle courage in the Soul of a Frenchman. We read in the Memoirs of Nevers §, that this Prince, ſome Months before his death, at the furious attack of the Fauxbourg of Tours by the Duke of Mentz, *advanced as far as the Gabions, which formed part of the barricade; and that having thrown down one of theſe Gabions with his foot,*

* *Henry III.* § Vol. II. p. 590.

he

*he placed himſelf before it, giving his orders with the greateſt coolneſs imaginable, in the midſt of a ſhower of Fuſee ſhot: that the King of Navarre, afterwards Henry IV. returning with him, began to praiſe him, and ſaid to him, I am no longer aſtoniſhed after what I have ſeen, that our people loſt the battles of Jarnac * and Moncontour; that Henry III. replied, we muſt every where do what we are obliged to do; Kings are not more expoſed than other Men, and balls do not more particularly ſingle them out than a private Soldier.*

Stephen Paſquier makes a remark ‖ on the ſubject of *Henry III.* He ſays, that all the Princes of the Houſe of France, who have born the title of Counts or Dukes of Anjou, have become Kings, and in Kingdoms where there was very little reaſon to expect they would ever reign. In fact *Charles*, brother to *St. Lewis*, chief of the firſt branch of Anjou, and *Lewis* brother to *Charles* V. chief of the ſecond, were one and the other called by ſingular events to the crowns of Naples and Sicily. *Charles Robert* d'Anjou, vulgarly called Charobert, became King of Hungary, and joined Dalmatia, Croatia, Servia, and

* *Henry III.* being then only Duke of Anjou, gained thoſe two battles againſt the Huguenots.

‖ Vol. II. l. 5. p. 137.

Boſnia,

Boſnia, to that kingdom. *Henry III.* who was the firſt, after the extinction of theſe two branches of Anjou, that bore the title of Duke of Anjou, was king of Poland. Had Paſquier lived in our days he would have ſeen another branch of Anjou upon the throne of Spain and the two Sicilies.

During the ſiege of Paris, in 1690, after the inhabitants had eaten the ſtraw of their beds, old hides, and the moſt unclean animals, they took up the bones of the dead from the church yards, ground them, and endeavoured to eat them. Upwards of ten thouſand perſons had already died of Famine, or of thoſe execrable aliments, when a ſearch was ordered to be made in the religious houſes: amongſt the Carmelites, the Jacobins, the Jeſuites, the Auguſtins, the begging Friars of St. Bernard, the Cordeliers, the Capuchins, in a word at every Convent, flower, biſcuit, ſalt meat, and other proviſions were found in ſufficient quantities, to ſupport them eight months. I can conceive that we may exhort others to endure harſhips of which we ourſelves participate; but that men, after having procured to themſelves ſecret plenty by begging and intrigue, ſhould preach patience to a people as the command of God, and daily impoſe upon them by falſe intelligence and vain hopes

hopes of ſuccour; that the ſame men, meeting at every ſtep with infants expiring on the breaſts of their famiſhed and languiſhing mothers, ſhould be inſenſible to ſuch a ſpectacle, and continue the miniſters of a lingering and cruel death which every day ſwallows up and devours the unhappy victims of their predications --- this is the higheſt pitch of the moſt atrocious barbarity!

The Duke de Nemours who was appointed by the League Governor of Paris, going to viſit ſome poſts towards St. Michael's gate * met a man who ſaid to him in a pannic, *Sir, don't go into that ſtreet; I am juſt come from thence; it is full of ſerpents; I ſaw a woman there half dead, whoſe neck and hands were all twined round with adders.* The Duke de Nemours ſent forward ſome of his people, who haſtily returned, and confirmed the account this man had given. Hiſtorians ſay, that the exceſſive heat of the dog days, and the noxious effluvia of ſo many bodies infected by bad nouriſhment, engendered this prodigious number of ſerpents which appeared in different parts of the City towards the end of the ſiege: I queſtion whether this will appear a phyſical cauſe to naturaliſts.

Upon All Saints day 1604, the curate of St. Paul's having repaired to ſome Churches belonging

* At the top of Rue de la Harpe.

ing to the Eccleſiaſtics of his pariſh, where he found the cloths laid for the Communion, took them off, and with a very ſevere reprimand, exhorted the congregation not to communicate in any other than the pariſh church; he held forth very ſtrenouſly againſt the Confraternities, and threatened to excommunicate thoſe who united with them. Several curates did the ſame thing, and uttered the ſame threats in their pariſhes. *The Monks* (ſays Mezeray) *have an advantage over the ordinary prieſts; it is the conſtant union of the whole community to work with one ſpirit and never to quit the object propoſed. The churches of the Convents, adds he, are full, while the pariſh churches are almoſt deſerted, the ſheep quitting their natural paſtors, and the ſolid meat of their nurſe, to run after theſe ſpiritual dainties.* The late Duke of Burgundy had the higheſt eſteem for the curates of Paris; he thought it neceſſary to give them the moſt gracious reception at court, and to grant them, as far as was poſſible, what little favours they aſked for Families, in order to encreaſe that attention and confidence, which they obtain by the decency of their manners, their charity, and benevolence.

I do not know men that do more honour to human-

kind

kind than the Paris curates, ſaid Doctor *Burnet* upon his return to London.

Théodos's & Juſtinian. Cod. Book. 10. *Tit.* 31.

Great numbers of people through an indolent and lazy diſpoſition, quit public employments, and aſſociate, under pretence of Religion, with Monaſtical Communities; after having maturely deliberated upon this abuſe, it is our pleaſure that thoſe perſons be drawn from their retreats, and that they be brought back to their functions and employments in the ſtate.

The Council of Orleans in 511, *under Clovis. C.* 6.

No perſon can embrace an eccleſiaſtical life, without leave from the King or the Judge.

Young Women ſhall not take the veil before the age of twenty five years.

The Council of Africa C 16. *The Council of Tours C.* 28. *The Capitularies of Charlemain C.* 107.

The council of Lateran, in 1216, forbid the invention and eſtabliſhment of new religious Orders. If there were twenty before that prohibition, ſince that time 150 have been deviſed and eſtabliſhed.

At the council of Trent, the Generals of the Orders repreſented, that if it was not allowed to take

take the laſt Monaſtic vows at 16 years of age, and if thoſe vows were deferred till the age of 25, there would be very few Monks and Nuns. I apprehend every one will allow that ſuch repreſentations were very inhuman; for was it not ſaying, provided we have a great number of Religious, what ſignifies it to us, that ſucceſſively from age to age, fifteen or ſixteen thouſand perſons, in Catholic Countries, expoſe themſelves to ſpend their days in repentance, bitterneſs of ſoul, deſpair, and horror, for being in a ſituation which they too lightly and precipitately entered into?

The States General continued at Orleans, in the Reign of Charles IX. in 1560. *Collection of Remonſtrances. Art.* 37.

Demands of the States. *It is forbidden to receive any Monaſtic perſons to make profeſſion, before they have attained the* 30*th year of their age, and women the* 25th *at leaſt.*

The King's anſwer. *Ordered that it ſhall be fixed to* 25 *years for Males, aud* 18 *for Females.*

This ordonnance was aboliſhed at the States of Blois in 1588, and it was there enacted that a perſon might be bound by the laſt Monaſtic vows, if he had attained the age of 16 years compleat. No one is ignorant that the chiefs of the

the League, thoſe Tyrants of their Country and King, governed the States of Blois, and that they had, and ought to have great reſpect for the Monks, who were almoſt to a man Leaguers.

Prieſts are of divine inſtitution, Monks are not ſo; increaſe the number of Prieſts; forbid all orders male and female for the future, to receive novices: appropriate part of their Eſtates to the uſe of the City and Country pariſhes; preſerve the Abbey revenues to confer them on the younger ſons of the Nobility; preſerve alſo the rich Abbeys of Nuns: but let them be henceforward upon the plan of the chapter of Canoneſſes, that is to ſay, let them be open for young women of good families, who are only to take the vow of obedience, and who may remain there all their lives, or quit the place, if they find an agreeable match: the daughters of reputable tradeſmen ſhall form communities of Hoſpitalors, with the ſame liberty as Canoneſſes, to return to their relations, or to marry; they ſhould take care of poor ſick perſons, or attend to the education of children.

The common people of Rome complained to Pope *Pius IV.* of a tax which he had laid upon corn, and which could not exceed three ſols per head annually: *You have more reaſon to complain*, ſaid he, *of Paul IV. my predeceſſor, who has made you*

you loſe a day's work of five ſols, by inſtituting a new feſtival, the Chair of St. Peter.

Every one muſt agree, if there were no more than the four great Feſtivals and the Sundays obſerved in the year, fewer diſorders would happen amongſt the people, and their Devotion would become more fervent.

There are eighteen Millions of Inhabitants in France: Suppoſe there are ſix Millions of Labourers, Workmen, Artiſans, &c. and fix each one's days work to only ten ſols; this amounts to three Millions of Livres: ſuppreſs ten feſtivals, and thereby thirty Millions are gained.

It is not above a hundred years, ſince it was the cuſtom to keep one's friend to lie all night with one, or to go home and ſleep with him; and what is extraordinary, the purity of the marriage-bed was not affected by the approach of a ſtranger; the Wife lay ſtill, as if by the ſide of her Huſband.

Lewis XIII. was fond of war; he underſtood it, and took pleaſure in the labours and dangers of a Siege: he was intrepid in an intrenchment, but with much courage in his heart, he had none in his mind: the details of government ſcared his imagination, and terrified his conſcience: no one was more wavering and irreſolute in the Cabinet and Council,

He

He was raviſhed at the ſight of a fine woman: he loved to be with her, to look at her, and to hear her; *But his amours*, ſays a writer of that time, *were purely ſpiritual, betwixt ſoul and ſoul, and his enjoyments were entirely maiden.* He went frequently to lie with the Conſtable of Luynes, and though in love with the Conſtable's wife, he ſlept with great tranquillity upon the ſame bolſter with her without ideas or deſires.

Charles d'Albert, Duke of Luynes, enjoyed to his death the firſt civil and military dignity; he was Conſtable and keeper of the Seals.

Thoſe who ſuffered decapitation for high treaſon were blindfolded: this was ſo much more ignominy added to their puniſhment. The Marſhal de Biron was blindfolded *. We read in an account of the death of the Duke de Montmorenci, publiſhed in 1633, that he ſaid to the Executioner, *Blindfold me, and perform thine office quickly*; this reply was made him, *that if he had a mind he needed not be blindfolded, and that the King had given orders accordingly*; to which he anſwered, *that he could not die ſhamefully enough.* Thoſe who loſt their heads for other crimes than treaſon were at liberty to be blindfolded or not.

* Bouteville and Deſchapelles, who were con-

* Pierre Mathieu. L. 5.

demned for duelling, were aſked, if they choſe to be blindfolded, and they replied no.

Theophraſtus Renaudot, a phyſician of Paris, picked up news from all quarters to amuſe his Patients; he preſently became more in requeſt than any of his brethren; but as a whole City is not ill, or at leaſt don't imagine itſelf to be ſo, he begun to reflect at the end of ſome years, that he might gain a more conſiderable income, by giving a paper every week, containing the news of different Countries. A permiſſion was neceſſary; he obtained it with an excluſive privilege, in 1632. Such papers had been in uſe for a conſiderable time at Venice, and were called *Gazettes*, becauſe a ſmall piece of money, called *Gazetta*, was paid for the reading of them: This is the origin of our Gazette and its name.

When the ſeat of Parliament was fixed, the one half of it was compoſed of Biſhops; *Philip the Long*, by an ordinance in the year 1319, excluded them, *making it a point of conſcience*, as he ſaid, *to prevent their labouring in any other than a ſpiritual vocation*. They at preſent belong to the French Academy.

Our language is become the univerſal one, and Paris ſeems to be the capital of Nations. To whom are we indebted for this glory, and for thoſe maſter-pieces of eloquence, poetry, painting,

painting, ſculpture, and architecture, which have immortalized the reign of *Lewis XIV?* To *Corneille* and *Moliere.* All the arts go hand in hand; the beginning of perfection in one, forms a taſte for the reſt. Thoſe two great geniuſes have diſcovered ſources, which without either expence or riſk, bring more gold into France, than ever the mercileſs deſtroyers of Mexico and Peru carried into Spain. In three or four thouſand years the names of the other Nations who inhabit Europe will ſcarce be known, whereas our Language will be the learned Language, and will be taught to children: every one will pride himſelf in being acquainted with our Hiſtory, and in enumerating the celebrated names and actions of our Kings and Heroes; the ſoftneſs, the politeneſs of our manners will be admired by poſterity, whilſt they will be ſtruck with the courage and pride wherewith ſuch a gay frivolous people, iſſued from their lethargic pleaſures, and flew to glory as ſoon as they were attacked.

I ſearch every where in Paris for the ſtatues of *Corneille* and *Moliere*—Where are they? Where are their Mauſoleums?

A writer, who does not hold France in any great veneration, pretends that *Corneille* is not ſo much admired there as in the reſt of Europe, and that *Racine* in the reſt of Europe has not ſo

great a reputation as in France. I ſhou ld believe our nation to be very near its decline, if men of forty years of age did not look upon *Corneille* as the greateſt genius that ever exiſted. What rapidity in his flights! What ſublimity in his ideas! What boldneſs of ſentiment! What nobleneſs in his portraits! What pom, what majeſty in his pictures! What depth in politics! What truth, what ſtrength in his reaſonings! The action in his pieces is always ſtriking and intereſting: in moſt of thoſe of *Racine*, the action is trifling, and ſet in motion by little ſprings, and the bickerings of lovers. *Corneille* was well acquainted with all the human heart; it ſhould ſeem that *Racine* was only acquainted with its weakneſſes. The plots and characters of *Corneille*'s pieces do not in the leaſt reſemble one another: the plots and characters of *Racine*'s pieces are almoſt all ſimilar Nobody was ever ſuch a maſter of Dialogue, as *Corneille*: it is true his ſtyle appears ſometimes too familiar, and even groveling; but is our delicacy upon that head rational? Beſides *Ariſtotle*, Father *Boſſu*, and all thoſe who have written upon the Theatre, agree that verſification is the leaſt and laſt part of a dramatic work: it is the invention of the *fable*, the diſpoſition of the picture, the ſtrength and truth of the characters, which evince genius.

In

In reading *Corneille*, we feel that his own ſoul was the ſource of his elevated genius.

La Bruyere aſſerts that *Corneille* paints men as they ſhould be, and that *Racine* paints them ſuch as they are: it would be eaſy to demonſtrate, that a more erroneous judgment was never pronounced.

A play is going to be repreſented; a perſon aſks, whether it is in verſe or proſe; he is anſwered, in proſe; immediately the piece, in his imagination, ſinks in its value. The celebrated *Nericaut Deſtouches* thought very differently, and his deciſion ought to have ſo much the more weight, as almoſt all his pieces are in verſe, and he had therefore no intereſt in liſting under the banner of proſe: *I know* (ſays he in a letter to a young author) *it is not ſo eaſy to ſecure the ſucceſs of a piece wrote in proſe as of one in verſe, becauſe verſification of itſelf gives a relief to things the moſt ordinary, and frequently the moſt inſipid.* In fact, don't change a ſingle word, only diſſolve the metre, and reduce to proſe any ſcene that has appeared to you very brilliant in verſe, you will be aſtoniſhed at the illuſion that the meaſure and rhyme have occaſioned, and at the turn of thought, maxim, and moral, which they communicate, as *Deſtouches* expreſſes it, to ideas often hackneyed and trivial. We are much

obliged to an author, you will ſay, for ſurmounting the difficulty which there is in compoſing a piece in verſe; but, it may be anſwered, that an author who has habituated himſelf from his youth to make verſes, often verſifies with greater eaſe, than he could write proſe. In a word, it is not to be doubted that to compenſate the diſadvantages of proſe, it is neceſſary to give it a certain turn, to ſhorten it, to render it lively and preciſe, and to ornament it with more ſtrokes than would be neceſſary to recommend the ſame work, had it been written in verſe.

I have ſeen, ſays C. Julius Vindex, in a ſpeech he made to the Gauls to rouſe them againſt Nero, *I have ſeen that infamous Man in an actor's dreſs, ſinging verſes upon the ſtage, playing the part of a ſlave, and of a courteſan, loaded with fetters, big-bellied, and brought to bed.* It ſeems from this paſſage of *Suetonius*, and ſeveral others of *Lucian*, that there were no Women upon the Roman Stage, and that Men performed their part; nevertheleſs *Pliny* mentions one *Luceja* [Lib. 7. cap. 48] who ſtill trod the Stage, when ſhe was an hundred years old.

The famous *Roſcius* had a great caſt in his eye, *Erat perverſiſſimis oculis*, ſays Cicero in his book of the Orator.

Raimond

Raimond Poiſſon, an actor belonging to the Hotel of Burgundy, was excellent as to his natural acting, but he ſtammered, and had no calves to his legs: he took it into his head to wear buſkins: his ſon and grandſon inherited his natural acting, his ſtammering and his buſkins.

In the ballet of the Triumph of Love, exhibited in 1681, female dancers were introduced for the firſt time upon the Opera-Stage: before that period, two, four, ſix, or eight Men-dancers were dreſſed in Womens cloaths.

Father Menetrier the Jeſuit, in his book upon ancient and modern ballets, relates, that to ſolemnize the beatification of *St. Ignatius*, a very fine ballet was given, repreſenting the *City of Troy, and the Trojan Horſe ſet in motion by ſecret ſprings.* What connexion had this Horſe, and the misfortunes which were occaſioned by his being brought into Troy with the inſtitution of the Jeſuits, and their eſtabliſhment in the Kingdom?

Will it be credited, that it was propoſed as a problem in an Academy, *Whether the eſtabliſhment of arts and ſciences has contributed to the refinement of manners?* Will it be credited, that the ſame Academy gave a premium to the author of a Diſcourſe, wherein it is attempted to prove, that

arts and ſciences have tended only to the corruption of manners? And will it be credited, that notwithſtanding ſuch a deciſion, the ſame Academy has ſubſiſted, ever ſince they firſt held their aſſemblies?

Our tragedies generally conclude with ſedition, death, or maſſacres. All our comedies terminate in marriage: Is this meant to teach us, that the great are born to deſtroy, and the reſt of mankind to propagate their ſpecies?

It appears to me, that for theſe twenty or thirty years laſt paſt, moſt of the tragedies that are advertiſed as new ones, are only new editionsof old ones, reviſed and corrected.

In a nation where the women are only handſome, a taſte in the agreable arts will never arrive at any great degree of perfection: it is the graces that inſpire, guide, form, and enlighten taſte.

To proſcribe the fine arts, and to ſtick to thoſe only that are uſeful, is blaming Nature, which produces flowers, roſes, and jeſſamines, as well as fruits.

Is not *the beſt* ſometimes contrary to what is called ſimply *good*? In entering our new-built churches which are ſo very light, is one ſtruck with that religious awe and recollection, which the obſcurity of the old ones inſpired?

The ancient Caſtles have a certain air of nobility:

bility: thoſe that are built now, reſemble only country houſes.

A wire-drawn, laboured ſtyle, intermingled with tropes and antitheſes, ſtrikes none but fools. Endeavour to write with eaſe, ſimplicity, and preciſion; have a manner of your own, but above all things be clear: Every author that muſt be read twice, in order to be underſtood, writes badly.

Ye little Eagles who diſdainfully hover above the ſphere of your pitiful countrymen, ye new Phænomena in literature, I take the liberty of conſidering you in your *Apogée*; and I think it is very perceptible, that the rays of your glory conſiſt of nothing but paradoxes, and ſingular ideas, ſtrokes againſt the female ſex, and againſt your country, blended with a varniſh of irreligion.

There is nothing ſo eaſy, and conſequently nothing which is leſs a proof of wit, than the ſupporting of paradoxes and ſingular notions.

About fifty years ago two ſmall works appeared under the titles of *Dialogues of the Gods, and Letters of Philoſophy and Gallantry.* The deſign of the author was to weaken, confound, and perplex all the ideas, and principles of morality, which uſually guide mankind. He endeavoured to prove that falſehood, avarice, indolence, and

ingratitude were no vices, and that modeſty and chaſtity had no place amongſt the virtues; and that a huſband, inſtead of oppoſing the gallantries of his wife, may turn them into a ſource of vanity; that a ſon owes nothing to his parents, either for the life he received from them, or the education they gave him; and that a man is neither obliged to love, to ſerve, nor defend his country. Would it not be pleaſant, if in ſifting, ſearching, and commenting upon two works (I make uſe of the term) that are in every reſpect ſo deſpicable, would it not be pleaſant, I ſay, if one ſhould imagine that the philoſophy of manners has within theſe few years made a great progreſs amongſt us?

God gave you talents with a view to your being uſeful; he beſtowed riches upon you, to furniſh you with opportunities of diſplaying your beneficence. Methinks this ancient morality of the Goſpel, is of equal eſtimation with the new-fangled philoſophy.

A Quack at the end of the Pont-neuf, wears a ridiculous cap, in order to draw the attention of the people. Such an author diſparages his country for no other reaſon, but that he knows a certain air of ſingularity and effrontery, ſeldom fails to ſtrike young fools. How is this, ſay they to themſelves? Oh! certainly this author has a great

great deal of wit; ſee how he deſpiſes us! Let us have wit too, let us deſpiſe our fellow citizens, and praiſe the Engliſh.

Tacitus ſpeaking of our anceſtors (de Mor. Germ. cap. 7, 8.) relates, "that they heard "the ſhouts of their wives from the field of bat-"tle; that they wiſhed them above all others to "be the witneſſes and panegyriſts of their acti-"ons *; that theſe had ſometimes prevented "the rout of their armies, and rallied the troops "by their exhortations and remonſtrances." I don't mean that the French Ladies ſhould encamp; but they have a natural dominien over our ſentiments, and they may render themſelves extremely uſeful, by inceſſantly inſpiring a love for our country, and treating with the greateſt contempt ſuch men as would undervalue their nation.

The duke of Burgundy, who was almoſt continually at war with *Lewis XI.* had laid ſiege to Beauvais. As ſoon as his Artillery had made a ſufficient breach to attempt the aſſault, he immediately ordered it to be made: the beſieged having ſuſtained it for three hours with great gallantry, began to loſe courage; the women ran to their aſſiſtance, ſome armed with pikes, others with ſticks pointed with iron; Jane Hachette throws a Burgundian Captain into the ditch, juſt

* *Præcipuum fortitudinis incitamentum,*

as he had planted his banner upon the ramparts: all the women engage in the combat, and all expoſe themſelves with ſo much intrepidity, that it ſhould ſeem they imagined death paid a peculiar deference to their ſex: the Burgundians are repulſed, and ſome days after raiſe the ſiege. In commemoration of this action, an annual proceſſion was inſtituted on the 10th. of July, wherein the women ſtill have the precedency, and walk before the men.

We are reproached, that the ſame Frenchman, who boaſts of his anceſtors and the nobility of his pedigree, marries from a principle of avarice the daughter of one of theſe men ſprung from nothing, Leeches fattened with the people's blood. Amongſt the Romans, whoſe grandeur of ſoul we are inceſſantly taught to admire, a man who was not rich, endeavoured to inſinuate himſelf into the good graces of ſome opulent old fellow: now, the father by adoption became inveſted with the ſame rights as the natural father, and the natural father had the power of life and death over his children: A man muſt be poſſeſſed of an abject ſoul indeed, to truſt the power of life and death over himſelf into the hands of a ſtranger.

" A gentleman who demeans himſelf by mar-
" riage, and weds a plebeian, ſaid *René* king of

" Si-

" Sicily, count of Anjou, ought to be puniſhed " accordingly ; and all the lords, knights, and " ſquires ſhould fall on him in full tournament, " and beat him till he ſays, he gives up his horſe, " and ſurrenders.

The Roman victors had an iron ring put upon their finger, on the day of their triumph, to remind them of their being Men, and that the ſame fortune which had raiſed them to the ſummit of glory, might ſtill plunge them into ſlavery. On the Pope's coronation-day, tow is burnt, and he is told that the glory of the world paſſes and vaniſhes like that flame; *Sic tranſit gloria mundi.*

At the triumph of Scipio Africanus, the king and generals he had conquered, marched before his Car, chained, and with their heads ſhaved, to indicate their ſervitude. Two or three buffoons, dreſſed in long and magnificent robes, were alſo chained, and mimicked as they went along, the mein and geſtures of theſe unhappy captives. It muſt be acknowledged that theſe Romans were very indifferent men !

The mob in France flock to the public place, where criminals are executed : Is it becauſe they take pleaſure in ſeeing blood ſpilt ? No ; but they are curious to know how theſe men are formed, whoſe crimes and ſentence become the news

news of the day, and the topic of their converſation. There are not, perhaps, four amongſt all the ſpectators, who do not turn their heads, and whoſe ſouls are not ſenſibly affected, as ſoon as the execution begins.

The combats of Gladiators, will ever make the Romans be looked upon as a blood-thirſty and ferocious nation: but in order to know thoroughly to what a pitch their natural cruelty extended, it is only neceſſary to read their hiſtorians. Theſe relate that at every wound a gladiator received, the people clapped their hands and ſhouted *Hoc habet*, he has got it; and when this gladiator ſtretched upon the ſtage, and covered with wounds, aſked quarter, his adverſary ſtopped and looked at the people to know whether he ſhould grant it, and they frequently ordered him to diſpatch his unhappy vanquiſhed antagoniſt. It is to be obſerved, that gladiators were generally priſoners taken in war, and that inſtead of being treated with humanity, they were compelled to fight againſt one another. The *Arena* was ſometimes covered in a ſingle day, with twelve or fifteen hundred men killed or maimed.

No animal attacks his like, but either through rage, or when conſtrained by hunger: The Romans in having men put to death for their amuſe-

muſement, have proved that of all animals man is the moſt wicked.

The combats of Gladiators, it is ſaid, were founded on political motives, *and inſtituted for keeping up a warlike ſpirit amongſt the Romans.* But a warlike ſpirit and a taſte for homicide are very different things: a warlike diſpoſition is generous; honour and the love of one's country inſpire it.

The Romans ſometimes ſought every where for Dwarfs, to make them fight, and cut one another's throats: it is the height of barbariſm to endeavour to derive pleaſure from cruel ſpectacles.

Creatures which from accident, or from being deformed in the womb, have not attained the natural ſize, ſhould not be called Dwarfs. I lately ſaw a real Dwarf at the counteſs of *Humiecſka*'s; he is a Pole, and the ſon of a gentleman, and though twenty two years of age is but 18 inches high; one would ſay that Nature, far from deſigning to diſgrace him, has taken particular pleaſure in perfecting a man in miniature; his head, neck, ſhoulders, arms, waiſt, legs, and feet, in a word all the parts of his body, are exactly proportioned; his eyes are lively and ſparkling, and all the features of his face are graceful; he ſpeaks with caution, and anſwers with much

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politeneſs. I have been aſſured that his father and mother are both much above the middle ſize, that they have ſix children, the eldeſt of whom is but 34 inches high, and well made; that this I have ſeen is the ſecond; that he has three younger brothers who are all above 5 feet 6 inches high: that the ſixth child is a daughter about 6 years old, and not above 20 or 21 inches high, who already diſcovers many graces in her little perſon.

The ordinary height of men has always been about 5 feet four or five inches: this is a point that has been well examined, and has been demonſtrated by inconteſtable proofs. Dwarfs and Giants are not of any particular race, they are born of fathers and mothers of the uſual ſtature. The ſmalleſt Dwarf, when he has arrived at the age of maturity, is never leſs than two feet eight inches high; it is to be preſumed that the talleſt Giant, is never above eleven feet, that is to ſay, the Dwarf is one half ſhorter, and the Giant one half taller than the common height amongſt men. Let us lay fable and the marvellous aſide: look into the holy ſcripture for the height of Goliath, and of Og king of Baſhan; let us meaſure them, and we ſhall find that Goliath was only nine feet four inches high, and * Og eleven feet.

Little

* Og's bed, according to Scripture, was nine cubits long. A

Little men of five feet four or five inches high, have made the tour of the world; they have ſettled colonies, and waged war 4 or 5000 leagues from their native land. If there were countries and races of Giants, what voyages would not they have performed? what enterpriſes would they have not undertaken?

Auguſtus, ſays Suetonius, *finding that few parents of diſtinguiſhed birth were much inclined to preſent their daughters for being made Veſtals, as they were under apprehenſions for them on account of the dangerous and delicate* † *conſequence of ſo long a continence, made a regulation, whereby the daughters of enfranchiſed perſons were allowed to be admitted.*

There were only ſix Veſtals; we have thouſands of convents for Girls: theſe convents, it will be ſaid, are a great eaſe to families: the Romans had every whit as many children as we, but they did not behave with the ſame barbariry towards them.

The people and magiſtrates are in mourning; all the ſhops are ſhut up; profound ſilence and deep

cubit containing about a foot and a half, this bed was thirteen feet and a half in length; and a bed is always longer than the perſon it is made for.

† Such as were convicted of breaking their vow of virginity were buried alive.

deep conſternation reign throughout Rome—and what is the reaſon? Has a bloody battle been loſt? No—but one of the Veſtals has broke her vows of chaſtity. What? becauſe nature that was ſacrificed has reſumed her rights—becauſe a girl has yielded to her own deſires and to thoſe of her lover, a whole Empire is alarmed; a whole Empire looks upon the amour as the preſage of ſome fatal event! Men have at all times been ridiculous.

Some Roman Emperors declared that all the air of the Empire belonged to them, and that every man ſhould, according to his ability, pay for permiſſion to breath in it; this tax was called *aeris centiſio*. Oxen are killed, but can it be ſuppoſed that the air they breathed was not their own?

Couriers are inceſſantly going backwards and forwards, and on certain fixed days in every week one may write not only to different parts of the Kingdom, but alſo into foreign countries, and receive anſwers very expeditiouſly. Will it be believed, that a regulation, ſo eaſy, uſeful, and agreeable, which coſts ſo little, and yet produces ſuch conſiderable ſums to the Prince, was quite unknown to the Greeks and Romans; and that it was not till the year 1630. that it was thought of in France, whoſe example has been therein fol-

followed by all other nations? There were meſſengers indeed; but beſides their ſlowneſs, and their being reſtricted entirely to the Kingdom, they did not ſet out till ſuch time as they had collected a certain number of packets. In Gaul, as in the other provinces of the Empire, the Romans had eſtabliſhed poſts, at certain diſtances, upon the great roads, but theſe being entirely confined to the affairs of the ſtate, the couriers never concerned themſelves with private letters.

A Monk was the inventor of gun-powder; a * Biſhop of bombs; and a Capuchin, named *Father Joſeph*, who made himſelf ſo conſpicuous, under the adminiſtration of cardinal *Richelieu*, firſt propoſed ſpies to be employed by the Police, and alſo *Lettres de cachet.*

I one day kept up a very bold converſation. Some days after I received a pretty ſevere reprimand from a Miniſter who has always honoured me with his friendſhip: Excuſe me for what I advanced, ſaid I; I only urged it to ſuch a man, and merely out of curioſity; for a long time and upon every occaſion he exaggerates our loſſes, diminiſhes our advantages, and is perpetually talking againſt the government: I ſuſpected he was a ſpy, and I wanted to be convinced.

A

* *Galen* Biſhop of *Munſter.*

A man who appeared eaſy in his affairs, fell in love, and married a young girl, who by the death of her parents, and neceſſity, had been driven into a bad courſe of life. At the end of ſome monſhs, ſhe found out that her huſband was a ſpy from the Police: "Probably, ſaid ſhe to him, "you have not taken up this trade, till after you "had conſidered, that a man riſks his life, in fol-"lowing that of a thief and an aſſaſſin." She went out, and threw herſelf from the *Pont-royal* into the *Seine*, where ſhe was drowned.

The Emperor *Theodoſius* made a law, whereby he condemned to death every man who appeared three times in the character of an Informer, even though his informations were not judged to be ill-grounded. This Prince doutbleſs thought that an infamous man had no right to live.

To attempt (ſays *Henry IV.*) *the liberty of a Frenchman, by refuſing to confront him with his accuſers, is violating the firſt law of the ſtate.*

The King's glory is concerned, ſays Omer Talon, *in our being freemen, and not ſlaves; the dignity of his crown is proportioned to the quality of thoſe who obey him.*

The people think themſelves free, when the King receives their petitions and reads them, or

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at leaſt makes his miniſters believe that he reads them.

Joinville relates, *that he has often ſeen St. Lewis, after having heard maſs in the Summer, go and ſeat himſelf at the foot of an oak in the wood of Vincennes, when all thoſe who had any buſineſs with this good Prince, came and ſpoke to him, without any uſher, or other perſon preventing them.*

The King ſhould be loved as a public good: Every miniſter who expoſes him to the loſs of his people's affection, deſerves death.

It is not taxes and impoſts, but the abuſe of ſuperior orders, which characteriſes the Yoke, and renders it inſupportable.

In England, if the Miniſtry cauſes any one to be arreſted, they muſt releaſe him in twenty four hours, or bring him to trial in ſix weeks.

Never had a Prince leſs the character of a King than *Lewis XI.* and his miniſters were always the meaneſt of men. Was it through policy? He was always betrayed by them.

The moſt eſſential point for a miniſter is, that the people be perſuaded of the magnanimity of his Soul.

The authority which the Prince entruſts us with, ſhould inſpire us with beneficence, and not with pride.

I am without arms and defenceleſs. A man armed *cap-a-pee*, with piſtols in hand, inſults me: What do you think of that man? The ſame as you ſhould think of a miniſter who anſwers me in an abrupt manner, or with a ſlighting and ſcoffing tone of voice.

Formerly the *Financiers* were too much deſpiſed. The author of the Spirit of Laws aſſerts that the people in power pay them at preſent too much deference: *If reſpect*, ſays he, *is fixed to riches, all is loſt.*

Riches are not the ordinary portion of the military man, the magiſtrates, the artiſan, and the man of letters: thoſe men muſt therefore be paid the deficiency, in civility and reſpect. The point of honour is animated and ſupported by reſpect, and in this point of honour is compriſed the ſtrength of our nation. "Forced by this, "ſays an Engliſh author §, the character of the "French nation, though inconſiſtent, is reſ-"pectable: They have found, or rather invent-"ed, the art of uniting all extremes: They "have virtues and vices, ſtrengths and weakneſſ-"es, ſeemingly incompatible. They are effe-"minate, yet brave: inſincere, yet honourable: "hoſpitable, not benevolent: vain, yet ſubtle: ſplen-

§ *Browne*'s Eſtimate of the Manners and Principles of the Times. Part 2. Sect. 6.

" ſplendid, not generous: warlike, yet polite:
" plauſible, not virtuous: mercantile, yet not
" mean: in trifles ſerious, gay in enterpriſe:
" women at the toilet, heroes in the field: pro-
" fligate in heart; in conduct decent: divided
" in opinion, in action united: in manners
" weak, but ſtrong in principle: contemptible
" in private life; in public, formidable." According to this picture, the point of honour is with us a ſubtile method, whereby the effects of virtue are produced by vanity; but could vanity produce theſe effects amongſt us, if generoſity, mildneſs, and beneficence, did not conſtitute the ground work of our character?

We are not obliged to animate our ſoldiers to battle with ſtrong liquors; whereas the Duke of Marlborough at a time when Prince *Eugene* preſſed him to an attack, replied to him, *I wait for the brandymen; they will not be long a coming.*

A French ſoldier, who was fighting ſword in hand with one of his comrades, received a mortal wound from him; nevertheleſs, having ſtill ſtrength enough left to throw down his adverſary and to diſarm him, *Go*, ſaid, he to him *I give thee what thou takeſt from me*,— and died. France has given Kings, and great Kings too, to moſt parts of Europe. *Torquat*, or *Terculle*, a Lord

Lord of Brittany, who was poſſeſſed of a conſiderable Eſtate in Anjou, was father to *Ingelger*, a branch of the family of the *Plantagenets*, Counts of *Anjou*, who reigned for ſuch at length of time in England.

Henry of Burgundy, from whom the Kings of Portugal are deſcended, and who was the founder of that Kingdom, was great grandſon to *Hugh Capet*.

The *Courtenays* have been Emperors of Conſtantinople.

Charobert d'Anjou, great grandſon to *St. Lewis*, was in poſſeſſion of Hungary, Boſnia, and Servia. His ſon *Lewis*, ſurnamed the Great, joined to theſe dominions, Poland, Courland and Lithuania. They were both adored byt heir ſubjects.

Unhappy Kings and illuſtrious men that have been perſecuted by their country, have from the earlieſt times choſen France for their aſylum; becauſe at all periods the French have had the reputation of being a mild, humane, and ſympathiſing people.

A nation ought to eſteem itſelf, and to be poſſeſſed of a certain pride, but this pride ſhould be noble; it ſhould render a people affable and condeſcending, whereas that of the Romans was arrogant. With what haughtineſs did they ſpeak

to

to the Kings their allies! With what barbarity did they inſult the misfortunes of thoſe they had conquered! Again, when I read that *Caligula* deſigns his horſe for their conſul, and that *Domitian* convenes the Senate to deliberate in what vaſe he ſhall boil a huge Turbot † which had been ſent him, I acknowledge I feel a ſenſible pleaſure in the ſhameful debaſement they undergo.

Tacitus, ſpeaking of the Germans our anceſtors ſays [de Mor. Germ. cap. 15] *it is ſurpriſing to find in the ſame men ſo much reliſh for doing nothing, and ſuch an antipathy to repoſe.* The ſame may be ſaid of us; and, conſequently we are of the all the people in Europe, thoſe who are moſt eaſily tired, and the moſt eaſily amuſed.

The Romans left their ſlaves and people of the loweſt extraction to cultivate their lands, and go a hunting. The *Franks* who came from a barbarous country, ignorant of every other profeſſion but that of arms, after having ſubdued Gaul appointed the conquered people to cultivate the lands, but reſerved hunting to themſelves, which then became a noble exerciſe, becauſe it amuſed the ſavage idleneſs of the nobles, that is to ſay the conquerors.

† Juvenal Sat. 4.

Such men and women, as were diſtinguiſhed by their birth, always carried a hawk upon their wriſt, when they travelled. A Frenchman was forbid by law †, when taken priſoner, to give for his ranſom either his ſword or hawk; but he might give up a hundred or two of the peaſants belonging to his eſtate. †† The abbey of *St. Denis* being taken in 858 by the Normans, ſeveral Bondſmen of the abbey with their wives and children were paid as a ranſom for it, and were doubtleſs carried into the north, where perhaps they embraced paganiſm, the religion of their new maſters.

Cornelius de la Pierre, in his commentaries upon the holy ſcriptures, relates that a Monk maintained and preached that good game had been created for the Eccleſiaſtics; and that if partridges, pheaſants, and ortolans could ſpeak, they would cry out, *Servants* ‡ *of God let us be be eaten by you, that our ſubſtance being incorporated with yours, may one day riſe into glory, and not go down into hell with that of the wicked.*

The duke de Longueville was told that the gentlemen in his neighbourhood were conſtantly hunting upon his grounds, and that he ought not to

† *Capitals. Baluz. V. p.* 600. †† *Annal. Bened. T.* 3. *l,* 35, *num.* 33.

‡ *Subſtantia noſtra, caro noſtra, incorporetur ſanctis, ut in iis reſurget ad gloriam, non in peccatoribus ad gehennam.*

to ſuffer it: *I had rather* replied he *have friends, than hares.*

I am not ſorry that the great Lords * *make themſelves odious to the nobility and people,* ſaid Cardinal *Richelieu* to a man who had been relating to him the injuries the Prince of * * * had done him by his hunting.

Would not the fable of Acteon devoured by his dogs be a proper emblem of many great and little Lords ruined by their equipages and hunting?

We find in the ſacred writings **, that it was not till after the deluge, in the year of the world 1656. that man begun to feed upon the fleſh of animals. There ſtill remain vaſt and very populous countries, where the killing of them is not looked upon as neceſſary, nor turned into a barbarous diverſion: the people there live upon pulſes, fruits and milk. We certainly endeavour to hide our cruelty from ourſelves, by ſaying that if we did not deſtroy them, they would devour what ſhould ſerve for nouriſhment to man.

The youth who follows his father to the

* The great Lords at that time often formed cabals in the ſtate, and occaſioned diſturbances.

** Geneſis Chap. 1. v. 29. and 30. and Chap. 9. v. 2. 3.

chace, and habituates himſelf to killing ſenſible and innocent beings, which were his ſport and paſtime in his infancy; will he not alſo habituate himſelf dy degrees to leſs regard and gratitude towards thoſe who have brought him up?

The Juries in England are Judges choſen from amongſt perſons of every profeſſion and trade: *Butchers* only are excluded: Why are ſportſmen admitted, ſays *Newton*?

I maintain there is not a man who does not ſome times ſay to himſelf, that he wiſhed people would no longer feed upon the fleſh and blood of animals. We continue to be carried away by cuſtom, and a fooliſh notion that in that caſe we muſt give up the pleaſure of regaling our friends, and of being regaled by them.

I have often heard ladies ſay, *We were walking in the foreſt, and without being fatigued with following the chace, we had the pleaſure of coming in at the death of the ſtag*; that is to ſay, they had the pleaſure of ſeeing a creature killed, that was no longer able to ſupport himſelf, and whoſe looks and tears ſhould make us ſenſible of our brutality. The ſtag is mild and peaceable; he does not lie in ambuſh in the depths of a foreſt, to commit crimes, the more we view him, the more we admire his elegant ſlender ſhape, and the no-

bleneſs

bleneſs of his mien: without diſparaging man, he is a finer creature than he; and has none of his wickedneſs.

The too long continued exerciſe which horſes undergo thickens their ſhape: this is a proof that it increaſes the weight of the body, there are other exerciſes to ſtrengthen it.

M. de Bouſſanelle, captain of cavalry, in the regiment of Beauvilliers, relates in his Military Obſervations, printed at Paris in 1760, *that in the year 1757, an old horſe of his company, that was very fine and full of mettle, had his teeth all on a ſudden ſo worn down, that he could not chew his hay and corn, and that he was fed for two months, and would ſtill have been ſo, had he been kept, by two horſes on each ſide of him, that eat in the ſame manger: that theſe two horſes drew hay from the rack, which they chewed, and afterwards threw before the old horſe; that they did the ſame with the oats, which they ground very ſmall, and alſo put before him; this, adds he, was obſerved and witneſſed by a whole company of cavalry, officers and men.* When we find animals behave in this manner, can we kill them? Can we think we have a right to do it?

What ſhould a man do with children in a wood, who perceives a tyger advancing? A hen, when ſhe has a young brood, is unacquainted

with danger, and flies in the face of the largeſt dog.

To adore the ſupreme Being, to marry and people the earth, according to the commandment, to ſuccour one's neighbour, to plant fruit-trees, to till the ground, to kill no other than noxious inſects, and carnivorous, ferocious, and venomous animals; ſuch were the firſt principles of the wiſe and beautiful morals of the Magi.

The extravagancies of the human mind are ſometimes ſo ridiculous, that it is difficult to credit them. In Egypt, when a cat dies, the maſter of the houſe ſhaves his left whiſker, as a token of mourning. It is but 200 years ſince rats were proſecuted in France, with the ſame form and ceremony as men. The celebrated Chaſſineur, who was afterwards preſident of the parliament of Provence, being then only the king's advocate, in the bailiwick of Autun in Burgundy, pleaded the cauſe of the rats, againſt a ſentence of excommunication pronounced againſt them by the biſhop of Autun. *He remonſtrated*, ſays M. de Thou, *that the time allowed them to appear in was too ſhort, and moreover that it was dangerous for them to ſet out, as all the cats in the neighbouring villages were upon the ſcent to ſeize them.* He obtained a freſh ſummons for them, with a greater length of time for their appearance.

I be-

I believe, that after maturely conſidering the different Religions in the world, every man who has not had the good fortune to be enlightened by Chriſtianity, would adopt the belief of a metempſychoſis: thus we ſee it has always been, and ſtill is, almoſt univerſally ſpread through Aſia and Africa, and amongſt the Savages in America; it was the ancient Creed of the Gauls and of all the northern people of Europe: its doctrines are ſimple, and natural, and contain nothing repugnant to reaſon. The felicities, or evils of the preſent ſtate of exiſtence, being the recompence or puniſhment of the actions we committed in a prior one, our wonder ceaſes, that ſome men and beaſts enjoy an agreeable and pleaſant life, whilſt others ſeem born to ſuffer every ſpecies of miſery.

All Religions are tolerated in the dominions of the Turks and Perſians; they occaſion no diſturbances; becauſe, tho' every one is allowed his own ſentiments and opinions; any perſon who begins a diſpute upon the religious tenets of another, is ſeverely puniſhed. Some Jews thought proper to urge in converſation, that they were the only people that ſhould enter into Paradiſe. Where then ſhall we be, ſaid ſome Turks, with whom they were ſpeaking? The Jews not daring to aver openly that they would be excluded, told

them, they would be in the court-yards. The Grand Vizir having got intelligence of this diſpute, ſent for the chiefs of the Synagogue, and told them, that ſince they placed the Muſſulmen in the court-yards of Paradiſe, it was but juſt they ſhould furniſh them with tents, that they might not be eternally expoſed to the inclemency of the weather. From that time, it is ſaid, the Jews, beſides the uſual tribute, pay a conſiderable ſum for the tents of the Grand Signior, and all his houſhold, when he goes to the army.

There were formerly frequent altercations amongſt the Turks, concerning precedency between the military and the law. The Grand Signior, to reconcile theſe differences, declared, that from that time forward the left hand ſhould be looked upon as the moſt honourable amongſt military men, and the right hand amongſt Lawyers; thus when theſe two bodies walk together, they both think they are in the place of honour. How often have we ſeen in the parliament of Paris and at court, trifling punctilios of ceremony and precedency, retard the expediting of the moſt important affairs.

Formerly, whoever was accuſed and convicted in Poland, of having eat meat in Lent, had his teeth drawn. A ſlanderer was condemned to go upon all-fours, and to bark for a quarter of an hour

hour like a dog. It is ſaid our king, Charles V. introduced this puniſhment at court, and that ſome days nothing but barking was heard all the morning.

The ancient northern people believed, that a man could not appear in a favourable point of view before the Gods, unleſs he was covered with blood and death, and had arms in his hand.

Frequently in France and other chriſtian countries, princes and great lords ordered by their will, that they ſhould be buried in the habit of a monk, ſome choſe that of a cordelier, and others that of a carmelite, or a jacobine.

A lady ſtill in the flower of her youth, but who had made her will at all events, told me a ſecret, that ſhe had therein ordered her body to be opened after her death, for no other reaſon than that ſhe was afraid of being buried alive. Why are not dead bodies burnt? Methinks this manner of reſtoring them to the elements, is leſs ſhocking to the imagination than that which is practiſed.

Pleaſure makes us forget we exiſt --- ſorrow makes us feel it.

Juſtice is ſeldom done to great men till after their death; that is, we are very willing they ſhould have been, but we cannot pardon them for exiſting at preſent.

There is one way to render men better: it is by inſpiring them from their infancy with the greateſt deteſtation poſſible for ingratitude, and by inceſſantly repeating to them the higheſt encomiums upon grateful perſons. We are all born with beneficent ſouls; beſides our ſelf-love is flattered, when others have recourſe to our generoſity, and we only deny ourſelves the pleaſure of obliging from the experience of the world, and from the fear we have of creating an ungrateful man: now we ſhould be almoſt certain of never meeting with any ſuch, if by education we had been accuſtomed to look upon ingratitude as an infamy equally diſhonourable with that which is entailed upon a man who runs away in battle, or lets himſelf be inſulted with a ſword by his ſide. Gratitude is the ſource of many virtues; it tends to form within us a humane and feeling heart; it inſpires us with a love for our country, and leads us to think of the tendereſt ties in our attatchments to our parents, our equals, our ſuperiors and inferiors. Inſtead of entertaining a young prince with ideas of grandeur and power, tell him of the prayers which a million of men, over whom he is one day to reign, have been continually offering up for him from the moment of his birth; teach him how barbarous it would be, to be inſenſible of their affection.

He

He will accuſtom himſelf to cheriſh his ſubjects; and a king who loves his people is adored by them, and becomes formidable to his enemies.

The love of the people and the averſion of the courtiers form the elogium of a miniſter.

Opulence, ſaid Mecenas to Auguſtus, proceeds rather from the curtailing of expence, than from a large income; *Non tam multa recipiendo, quam non multos ſumptus faciendo.*

D. du Breul, in his book upon the Antiquities of Paris, [p. 172.] ſays, *that over the door of the great chamber of Parliament, there is a lion cut in ſtone and gilt, with his legs bent and head ſtooping, to denote that he who enters into that chamber, let him be ever ſo great and rich, muſt humble himſelf, and ſubmit to juſtice.*

The duke of Burgundy's army having encamped before Paris, a ſoldier belonging to the troops, whom Lewis XI. had ſent for the defence of that capital, thought proper to ſay, that the Pariſians were all Burgundians; *as a ſatisfaction for which injury and contumely, he was arreſted*, ſays Corrozet *, and made the *amende honorable* before the town-houſe, in his ſhirt, bareheaded, and with a lighted torch in his hand; he had his tongue pierced afterwards with a red hot iron.

* Peter

* Antiquités de Paris, p. 145.

* Peter Mathieu relates that a gentleman of Normandy who went to confeſs to a cordelier, accuſed himſelf of having had an intention to kill Francis I; the cordelier gave this prince information thereof, and the gentleman was by an arret of Parliament, condemned to be beheaded, which ſentence was executed accordingly.

Upon the ſpot, where the houſe of John Chatel the parricide ſtood, a pyramid was built with an inſcription on each ſide of it againſt the Jeſuits; Henry IV. in 1605 ordered this pyramid to be taken down; Miron, provoſt of the merchants, erected a fountain † in its place, on the top of which the two following lines were inſcribed:

Hic ubi reſtabant ſacri monumenta furoris.
Eluit infandum Mironis unda Scelus.

The emperor Adrian perceiving one of his ſlaves, in whom he repoſed ſome confidence, gravely walking between two ſenators, ſent a perſon to give him a box on the ear, and to tell him, *that he ought to reſpect thoſe, whom he might one day ſerve as a ſlave and footman.* How many upſtarts daily deſerve boxes on the ear!

The

* Hiſt. de Henri IV. book v. p. 318.

† This fountain no longer ſubſiſts.

The courtier, the officer, and the magiſtrate are polite: the publican is known by his pride -- every ſtate that is held in contempt is inſolent.

Tacitus ſpeaking of the Batavi *, ſays, that Rome ſtill continues to teſtify the eſteem in which ſhe holds their alliance; that ſhe does not *load them with taxes, nor cruſh them with people in office; that free from contributions and levies, they are ſolely deſigned for military ſervice: we reſerve them, adds he, like our arms, to employ them in the day of battle.* The French nobility were formerly conſidered in the ſame light: but things muſt neceſſarily change, when nobility may be purchaſed with money.

A man of quality ill treated a footman of Lewis XIV. this prince hearing a noiſe behind his coach, aſked what was the matter; *Nothing at all, replied the man of quality; it is only two of your people fighting.* What a low, deſpicable anſwer! This ſcandalous courtier deſerved to have been degraded from his nobility.

What is at preſent called *a good houſe*, is one where a number of people, who are barely known to the maſter and miſtreſs, repair at two o'clock and

* A colony of the *Catti*, which afterwards formed one of the tribes of the Franks.

and ſet themſelves down to dinner: theſe *good houſes*, which have ſo prodigiouſly increaſed the number of Paraſites in Paris, would have appeared very ridiculous thirty or forty years ago. Every good citizen, who would keep a table, ſhould conſider that by contributing to augment the number of Paraſites, he increaſes that of flatterers, lyars, low buffoons, propagators of falſe reports, and inventors of news: for there is not one of theſe dinner-ſeekers, who does not begin as ſoon as he enters, with *I have juſt heard a piece of news.* It is ſhameful for men of letters, that many of them can be named, who from the beginning of the year to the end of it, do not live a ſingle day at their own expence; and this perhaps, is one of the cauſes of the ſcarcity of good books. A Paraſite muſt have a very pliable diſpoſition; now a very pliable diſpoſition excludes an elevation of heart and ſentiment, and borders ſtrongly upon the ſcoundrel. In the reign of Lewis XIV. military people lived with military people, the man of letters with the man of letters, and the artiſt with the artiſt; they went to the tavern, they talked of their reſpective profeſſions, they gained inſtruction one from another, and the decent freedom, gaiety, and liberty which reigned at theſe repaſts, maintained a certain dignity

nity and vigour of ſoul, from which we ſeem every day to degenerate.

* At the ſiege of Maeſtricht, in 1673, an officer of the regiment of Picardy, having fallen down as he was going up to the attack of the half-moon, a ſoldier held out his hand to liſt him up, and at that inſtant received a muſket-ſhot, which went through his palm; without ſaying a word, or ſeeming in the leaſt diſconcerted, he preſented the officer his other hand, and raiſed him up.

In the book of Kings we read, "that all the "people of Iſrael eat and drank of the fruit of "their hands, each under his own vine, and un-"der his own fig-tree, and were in great joy." This fine picture would have been that of France, if Henry IV. had lived ten years longer; that good prince had promiſed it to himſelf.

A taſte of agriculture is now generally ſpread thro' our provinces, and we have reaſon to expect the happieſt effects from it, particularly ſince the miniſtry is reſolved to employ every poſſible means to encourage it. The Peaſant will be no longer harraſſed with unprofitable toil, under pretence of making or repairing the highways. Inſtead of fearing

* Lettres de Peliſſon, vol. i. p. 382.

fearing, if he ſhould improve his land, that his taxes will be increaſed, he will be invited to induſtry by proſpect of ſmall premiums; certain of gaining the price of his labour, and of having a ſufficiency to maintain and bring up his children, 'till they are at an age to aſſiſt him, he will be no longer under apprehenſions of adding to their number. The workmen in the country, meeting with conſtant employment there, will no longer fill our cities with beggars: induſtry, population, and plenty, which is their attendant, will increaſe, and we ſhall ſee before the end of this century, that the thirtieth part of thoſe lands, which remained uncultivated, will have become valuable.

Mendicant Monks are prejudicial to a nation, in as much as they diminiſh the ſhame of begging in the minds of the people. It is certain, that there is an infinitely greater number of beggars in Catholic countries than in any other.

In 1508, * Lewis XII. in order to re-eſtabliſh his maritime force, demanded ſhips from the principal cities of the kingdom: the city of Paris, of whom he aſked one of 400 tons, deſired to be excuſed for one of 200 tons; that is, a ſhip of 10 or 12 guns: two years ago the city of Paris, without being aſked, preſented the king with a ſhip of 80 guns.

A

* Hiſt. de Paris, tom. ii. p. 907.

A noble ſoul becomes untractable in adverſity, whereas good fortune renders it gentle and generous.

One ſhould endeavour to write with clearneſs and preciſion, that a reader of the moſt moderate capacity may fancy his author only recalls to his mind what he had thought of before.

Aucun amant qui ne ſervit ſon Roi :
Aucun guerrier qui ne ſervît ſa Dame.

Theſe two lines of St. Evremont have always charmed me : they paint a Frenchman ſuch as he was.

A LETTER from the Preſident Henault *to Monſ.* de la Place, *Author of the French Mercury.*

SIR,

" I Received yeſterday by the Penny-poſt, " a packet marked B, with the date of the " month. I opened it in the preſence of ſeveral " gentlemen that did me the honour to dine with " me, and found, with ſurprize and gratitude, " that it contained an anſwer to that article in " your Mercury, wherein Mr. de Saintfoix op- " poſes what I had advanced * concerning the " equeſtrian ſtatue of Philip the Fair. It was " not till after mature deliberation that I engaged " in that controverſy, as I was well aware it had " been frequently agitated; and it would have " given me particular pleaſure to have replied to " Mr. de Saintfoix, who has deſerved ſo well of " the public, if he had done me the honour to " addreſs me perſonally: but as he has taken a " different method, I judge it prudent to avoid a " literary quarrel, and therefore leave the whole " to the determination of thoſe that ſhall peruſe " the incloſed. It is not I that ſpeak now; it is " an

* See p. 116, &c. of this vol.

" an anonymous writer, who to the generoſity of " defending me, adds the concealing of his name, " a circumſtance which I can't but lament, as I " am thereby prevented from teſtifying my ac- " knowledgments. The Diſſertation appears to " me to be ſo very maſterly, that I have not he- " ſitated a moment to tranſmit it to you. This " may be a means perhaps of finding out the ſe- " cret of my protector; and I the more earneſtly " requeſt him to declare himſelf, as his doing ſo " will ſave me from an imputation, which is fre- " quently but too well grounded, of having bor- " rowed this mode of defence, in order to con- " ceal myſelf. I have the honour to be, &c.

" HENAULT."

P. S. I ſend you the packet juſt as I received it.

SIR,

" YOU have doubtleſs read in the Mercury " for January (vol. i. p. 73.) a ſmall Diſ- " ſertation of Mr. de Saintfoix, wherein he ſays " you are miſtaken, in fancying the equeſtrian " ſtatue in the church of Notre Dame, to be " that of Philip the Fair: but I take the liberty " to adviſe you not to be too haſty in receding " from that opinion. You will find your ſenti-

ments

" ments well ſupported in an excellent diſquiſi-
" tion, to be met with in a *Journey to Munſter*,
" which was wrote by the celebrated Claude
" Joly, who died in 1700, and was Grand Chan-
" ter and official of the church of Paris. The
" *Journey* I ſpeak of was printed at Paris in 1670,
" *in duodecimo*." The author, equally reſpect-able for his learning and piety, has given the public many valuable works, and attended Madame de Longueville in 1646 to Munſter, where her huſband was employed in negotiating the treaty of Weſtphalia.

Mr. Joly, after his return, gave an account of the places through which he had paſſed, and of the ſeveral curioſities he had obſerved. On the ſubject of Bouvines, where Philip Auguſtus obtained a victory by the interceſſion of the Virgin, he introduces the battles of Mons en Puelle and Caſſell, where Philip the Fair and Philip de Valois, by the ſame interceſſion, obtained a victory over the Flemings. He gives an ample diſcuſſion of the queſtion concerning the equeſtrian ſtatue, in the church of Notre Dame at Paris, which he does in a ſenſible and ſolid manner, like a man that has no particular partiality to one opinion more than to another; and at laſt concludes with looking upon the equeſtrian ſtatue as that of Philip the Fair. If you add to the reading of the Diſ-

Diſſertation by Mr. Joly, three Letters of Mr. Jouet, Canon of Chartres, who at the requeſt of his friend Joly, had ſearched the archives of his chapter, to throw light on this paſſage of hiſtory, I perſuade myſelf you will not think of retracting, as you will then ſee that the Diſſertation of Mr. de Saintfoix is nothing leſs than a demonſtration of what he advances after ſeveral of our authors. Theſe letters of Mr. Jouet are printed at the end of the *Journey to Munſter*. I ſhall not enter into the detail of what is contained in theſe papers, where we find an anſwer ready to the objections that have been propoſed to you, as alſo to thoſe concerning the leſſons in the ancient Breviary of Paris. It would be neceſſary to tranſcribe almoſt the whole of Mr. Joly's Diſſertation, as well as the Letters of Mr. Jouet; but it is better you ſhould have the pleaſure of reading them yourſelf. What will divert you, perhaps, is the different manner in which Mr. Joly has read the authorities that are objected to you; I mean the great Chronicles of France, and the continuation of Nangis. Mr. de Saintfoix reads in the Chronicles which he quotes, *that it was into the church of Notre Dame at Paris, that Philip de Valois entered, mounted upon his ſteed*; and Mr. Joly ſays, that in the authentic manuſcript, which he had of thoſe Chronicles, it was expreſsly written, that Philip de Valois,

Valois, after placing the ſtandard on the altar of St. Denis, *went from thence to Notre Dame of Chartres; and that when he got there, he put on the ſame armour which he had wore in the battle againſt the Flemings, then mounted his ſteed, and ſo entered the church very devoutly.* It is the ſame in Nangis's continuation M. de Saintfoix reads *Rex verò* [Philippus Valeſius] --- *poſteà* IVIT PARISIOS *& eccleſiam Beatæ Mariæ ingreſſus*, &c. But M. Joly, according to a MS. of St. Germains des Prez, reads *poſteà* INIIT CARNOTUM *& eccleſiam Beatæ Mariæ ingreſſus*; and we find it, in fact, written in the ſame manner in the quarto and folio editions of the Spicilegium, wherein is Nangis's continuation. We do not there find *ivit Pariſios*, but *ivit carnotum*. Hence, Sir, we muſt conclude, that M. de Saintfoix has read the ſame works differently from Mr. Joly, which proves that there are variations in the manuſcripts: nothing however is to be concluded therefrom againſt your opinion, till ſuch time as it is aſcertained which is the genuine text, it is proper to abide by. I am perſuaded, if M. de Saintfoix had read Mr. Joly's Diſſertations, he is a man of too much ſpirit to have let our great king Philip the Fair ſo ſhamefully diſmount from his horſe, and to inſiſt upon the gentlemen of the chapter of Notre Dame at Paris changing the Inſcription

they

they have cauſed to be put upon the equeſtrian ſtatue; which laſt they aſſuredly will not do, as they have ſeen the work of their ancient brother.

I imagined, Sir, that though you have read a great deal, you might be unacquainted with Mr. Joly's Diſſertation, which one would not think of finding in a *Journey to Munſter*. You will give me leave to omit ſubſcribing my name to theſe Reflexions, which are not worth while; beſides the name does nothing to the fact; but they are from one of your ſervants, who for a long time has had the honour of being very reſpectfully devoted to you.

Mr. De Saintfoix's ANSWER.

"I WAS ignorant that a new inſcription had been put under the equeſtrian ſtatue at Notre Dame: it is only a year ago that I learnt it from a pamphlet, wherein I was ſeverely taken to taſk, for having ſaid in my Hiſtorical Eſſays, that this ſtatue repreſented Philip de Valois. The author of the pamphlet, ſtruck with admiration of the preſident Henault, did not unite with this merit the merit of being polite, ſo that I never once thought of anſwering him; but in making corrections and additions to my Hiſtorical Eſſays, I was willing to

ſee

" ſee whether I had been miſtaken. My Diſ-
" ſertation appeared in the firſt volume of the
" Mercury for January laſt, and here is a new
" anonymous writer who attacks me: he mixes
" erudition with the ſalt of fine raillery, and I
" doubt not but the company that dined with the
" preſident Henault, laughed very heartily, when
" he ſaid, *that he takes me for a man of too much*
" *ſpirit to want our great king, Philip the Fair,*
" *ſo ſhamefully to diſmount from his horſe.* I was
" unacquainted with the *Journey to Munſter*; I
" have ſought for it and found it, I have read it,
" and I proteſt, wiſh I could ſay I was miſtaken:
" my indolence would thereby have been flat-
" tered; but Claude Joli's reaſonings only ſerve
" to confirm me in the opinion I had before em-
" braced. It is neceſſary to reconſider the ſtate
" of the queſtion, and the reader may aſſure him-
" ſelf that I am going to examine it with the ut-
" moſt impartiality."

Philip the Fair, in remembrance of the victory, which he gained over the Flemings, at Mons in Puelle, Auguſt 18, 1304, made ſeveral endowments at Notre Dame of Paris, at Notre Dame of Chartres, and other churches: but neither in theſe acts of endowment, nor in any ancient breviary, nor in any hiſtory of that time, is it ſaid, that he entered the church of Notre Dame

of

of Paris on horſeback, and that he there made an offering of his arms and horſe to the Virgin. Moreover, there neither are nor ever were any proofs of this in the papers, cartularies, regiſters nor archives of Notre Dame.

After having mentioned the victory which Philip de Valois gained over the Flemings at Caſſel, Auguſt 23d, 1328, the different Manuſcripts of the great Chronicles of St. Denis, and all the ancient * editions of thoſe Chronicles ſay, "that "Philip de Valois came to St. Denis, and pre- "ſented upon the altar the ſtandard which he "had taken, when he ſet out to oppoſe the Fle- "mings; and that he afterwards went to Notre "Dame at Paris; and being arrived there, had "himſelf armed with the arms which he had "wore in the battle againſt the Flemings; and "that then he mounted his ſteed, and ſo entered "the church of Notre Dame, where he devout- "ly thanked the Virgin, and preſented her with "the horſe on which he was mounted, and all "his armour."

What then is the point in diſpute, it will be aſked? It is this: They ſay, that if in different manuſcripts of the great Chronicles of St. Denis, we find *that Philip de Valois went to Notre Dame of Paris, and entered the church mounted upon his horſe*, &c. we read in other manuſcripts of the ſame Chronicles, that he went to Notre Dame of Chartres, and there entered mounted upon his

* The editions of 1493, 1517, and others.

horſe, &c. and they add that in Nangis's continuation it is equally expreſſed *inüt Pariſios* or *inüt Carnotum*, becauſe *Pariſios* or *Carnotum* are various readings; and thence they conclude, that Philip de Valois not having entered into the Church at Paris on horſeback, but into that of Chartres, it is not his ſtatue which we ſee in the church at Paris, but that of Philip the Fair.

The great Chronicles of St. Denis, after having given a long account of the battle of Mons in Puelle, ſay only, *that Philip the Fair returned to Paris near St. Denis with exceeding great joy.* The Continuator of William de Nangis, after having talked of the revenues which that prince bequeathed to ſome churches, and to that of Paris, in remembrance of this victory, ſays not a word of the cavalcade in that church. Is it natural to think, that theſe hiſtorians would have paſſed over this circumſtance in ſilence, in an article relating to this prince, and to the legacies he left? Is it natural that in the ſequel, when they ſpeak of Philip de Valois entering on horſeback the church of Paris, or, if they will, of Chartres, they ſhould omit adding, *as did Philip the Fair, after his victory at Mons in Puelle?* Does not this objection amount to conviction? Is it not neceſſary, in order to remove it, to offer ſome authentic proof that Philip the Fair entered the church of Paris on horſeback? Now, neither Claude Joly, nor any others have ever yet produced any ſuch voucher;

where-

whereas in a MS. which appears to have been written in the year 1360, marked H, N°. 22, making part of the manuſcripts which the Chapter of Notre Dame preſented to the king, it is ſaid, " That Philip de Valois, after the battle of " Caſſel, in the year 1328, entered compleatly " armed into the church of Notre Dame of Pa- " ris, - - - and that his effigy is placed upon two " pillars before the image of the ſaid Lady in " the nave of the ſaid church." Let us now examine the Letter of Claude Joli; Paulus Emilius, ſays he, " attributes the ſtatue in queſ- " tion to Philip the Fair, and Paulus Emilius " being a Canon of Notre Dame of Paris, it is " likely, that he would not have aſcribed to that " prince ſo public and ſolemn an act, if he had " not been well aſſured of it, either by ſome au- " thentic record, or by ſome tradition which was " then looked upon as certain and indiſputable " amongſt his fraternity."

Anſwer. In the reign of Henry II. on the ſide of this ſtatue verſes and an inſcription were affixed, the latter of which has ſubſiſted for upwards of a hundred years, whereby we are informed that this was the ſtatue of Philip de Valois. The greater part of the Canons who were cotemporary brethren with Paulus Emilius, were then ſtill living, and is it reaſonable to believe, that they would not have oppoſed the placing of this inſcription, and that they would have approved of

ir, if it had contradicted what was written in their archives?

"It is upon the teſtimony of Nicholas Gilles, "ſays Claude Joli, that when the Leſſons which "mention this victory, were firſt placed in the "breviaries of Paris, not only the entrance on "horſeback into the church of Paris, was attri-"buted to Philip de Valois, but alſo the victory, "and the foundation of the feaſt of the year "1304, though he was not upon the throne till "twenty-four years after."

Anſwer. In ſeveral manuſcripts of the great Chronicles of St. Denis, long before Nicholas Gilles, and in all the ancient editions of theſe Chronicles, it is ſaid, that Philip de Valois entered on horſeback into the cathedral of Paris: it is upon theſe authorities, that in the breviaries, this ſolemn action is attributed to this prince. Claude Joli was not ignorant of it, and he is therefore in the wrong to ſay, that this opinion is founded only upon the teſtimony of Nicholas Gilles. Moreover, the breviaries neither confound the two kings, nor the two victories; it is ſaid, *in Eccleſiâ Pariſienſi, propter commemorationem victoriæ Philippi Pulchri, fit duplum*; and after the Leſſons and ſtaves upon the Virgin, it is alſo ſaid, *Philippus Valeſius, cum inſignem victoriam de rebellibus Flandris obtinuiſſet, quæ contigit anno* 1328, &c. Here the two victories, and the two kings are equally diſtinguiſhed; Philip the Fair had

had made an endowment; Philip de Valois had preſented an offering, which he bought back for a conſiderable ſum, as I ſhall prove in the ſequel; beſides he had cauſed a monument of his victory, and of his gratitude towards the Virgin to be erected. The church of Paris commemorated thoſe two memorable battles, which were both obtained during the octave of the aſſumption.

Claude Joli ſays, "It is neceſſary to obſerve "farther, that in the breviaries of Paris there are "no Leſſons introduced reſpecting this, before "the edition of the year 1584; for, adds he, "there are none of the preceding editions of the "years 1479 and 1492, which mention this "affair."

Anſwer. The hiſtory of Paulus Emilius was printed in 1544, forty years after (in 1584) when the Chapter of Notre Dame thought proper to place in the breviaries the Leſſons in queſtion, is it not likely that they would have adopted the opinion of Paulus Emilius their brother, if they had not diſcovered by the archives, that it was not to be ſupported? To this I add, that at that time, ſome writing every day appeared which treated of the ancient rights of our kings to Flanders, and that even the united provinces offered in that ſame year (1584) to put themſelves under their dominion. Perhaps the Chapter of Notre Dame, paying attention to theſe circumſtances, thought proper to join to the commemoration of

the victory of Philip the Fair, that of the victory of Philip de Valois: at that time Prayers and Leſſons much leſs ſuitable, were introduced into the Breviaries and Rituals.

Claude Joli ſays, "that Mr. de Sponde, Bi-"ſhop of Pamiers aſſerts, that thoſe who have "attributed the ſtatue in queſtion to Philip the "Fair, have been confuted by ſeveral perſons, "and even by the ancient monaſtic regiſters of "the church of Paris, the archives of which they "muſt not have ſeen; but, adds Claudius Joli, "what archives is Mr. de Sponde ſpeaking of, "ſince there are no other than the endowment "of Philip the Fair, and the ancient breviaries of "that church, which all bear the name of "Philip the Fair, without making mention in "any manner of Philip de Valois; which ar-"chives, Paulus Emilius might have ſeen, but "which Nicholas Gilles, and thoſe of his opini-"on had never ſeen, ſince what he writes upon "that ſubject is quite contradictory to them."

Anſwer. Far from producing us any authentic piece, wherein it is ſaid that Philip the Fair entered on horſeback into the church of Notre Dame, and that it is his ſtatue which we ſee there; Claude Joli agrees that Paulus Emilius had no other proofs than the endowment of 100 livres, and what is mentioned in the old breviaries; now, by Claude Joli's own acknowledgment, there is not a word ſaid concerning it in the

the act of endowment for this rent, and the old breviaries say only, *in ecclesiâ Parisiensi, propter commemorationem victoriæ Philippi Pulchri, sit duplum.* Here father Texera and M. de Sponde, who had the inspection of the archives of Notre Dame, as Claude Joli allows, were they, I say, in the wrong to reject such evidences? Is it not extraordinary to say, that if Nicholas Gilles had seen them, they would have altered his opinion? Moreover M. de Sponde says, *that those who attribute the statue in question to Philip the Fair, are confuted by the ancient monastic registers of the church of Paris*: will it be said that these ancient monastic registers never existed, and that M. de Sponde never saw any of them?

Some Priests of the Oratory have continued the particular history of the church of Paris; they had the inspection of the archives, the register of benefactors, and all the titles of that cathedral; they had read the Dissertation of Claude Joli, and the Letters of his friend M. Jouet. These historians in their folio work, dedicated to Cardinal Noailles, and printed in 1710, say, (Book xviii. ch. iii. p. 615.) *that it is not to be doubted, that the statue in question is that of Philip de Valois, and that no king before him ever entered the church of Notre Dame on horseback*; and they have read, as well as myself, in the continuation of William de Nangis which they quote, iniit Parisios; so that the anonymous author who writes to the president He-

Henault, and who ſo politely ſays, *what will divert you*, muſt find theſe Prieſts of the Oratory extremely diverting.

Claude Joli, who endeavours to catch at authorities, quotes the annals of Malingre, though he was not ignorant that Malingre, in his antiquities of Paris (p. 10.) had retracted, and that he ſays, *the ſtatue in queſtion repreſents Philip de Valois.* Thevet is of the ſame opinion; but this does not prevent Claudius Joli from quoting him in his favour.

I might adduce an authority from the medal which we find in the work, entitled *la France Metallique*, and thence evince the falſity of Claudius Joli's reaſoning; but as I only ſeek for truth, and employ nothing elſe, I acknowledge that medal to be ſpurious: it muſt be believed however that the author of *la France Metallique*, to have imagined ſuch a medal muſt have gone to Notre Dame at Paris, and copied with great exactneſs the ſtatue in queſtion.

Let us now conſider the Letters of Mr. Jouet. He ſays, that Philip the Fair, in commemoration of the victory at Mons in Puelle, gave an endowment to the church of Chartres, as well as to that of Paris, of 100 livres revenue; that in conſequence thereof, there is at Chartres an annual celebration, on the 17th of Auguſt, of the office of *Notre Dame de la victoire* (our Lady of the victory;) and that on this day, a very rich ſuit

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of armour, but which would only fit a boy of 13 or 14 years old is taken out of the treaſury, and expoſed to public view. He runs into a long diſſertation upon this ſuit of armour, and aſſerts that Philip the Fair ſent his ſon Charles to make an offering of it to *Notre Dame* of Chartres; but he does not conſider, that this ſon Charles was only nine years old when the battle of Mons in Puelle was fought; that he was not preſent at that battle; that they were not his arms, but thoſe of his father, which he would have been appointed to make an offering of; that it is not to be doubted, that the ſword and belt are ornamented with dolphins, and that theſe arms are therefore much poſterior to the reign of Philip the Fair, Dauphiny not having been united to the crown till the year 1349; that in ſhort, this is the armour which Charles VI, who for a long time was called the little king, ſent as an offering to Notre Dame of Chartres, after having beat the Flemings at Roſebeque in 1482; this prince was then only 14 years of age. It will be aſked, why is this ſuit of armour exhibited on the day on which the victory at Mons in Puelle is celebrated? Becauſe probably, in a ſeries of time, it was forgot from whom it came, and was thought to be an offering of Philip the Fair; it is natural to think more of thoſe who make endowments than of any others. What is moſt certain is, that in the act of endowment of 100 livres revenue, and in the archives

archives of the church of Chartres, no mention whatever is made of this armour, nor of any offering of Philip the Fair; he made, I ſay again, endowments at Paris, Chartres, and other churches, in remembrance of this victory, but he never offered there either his arms, or his horſe.

Mr. Jouet afterwards produces an authentic piece, taken from the archives of the church of Chartres, wherein it is ſaid, "That the chapter "being aſſembled, reſolved, that the ſum of a "thouſand livres, which the king (Philip de Va-"lois) has given for the re-purchaſing of his "horſe and arms, which he had himſelf preſented "to the Virgin, ſhall be employed in procuring "funds or revenues for the ſaid church of Char-"tres." This confirms what I have always thought and ſaid, and what M. Souchet, ſecretary to the Canon of the Chapter of Chartres, wrote above a hundred years ago, in his manuſcript hiſtory of this Chapter and City. Philip de Valois went immediately to Notre Dame of Paris, where he offered to the Virgin his arms and horſe which he re-purchaſed for the ſum of 1000 livres: he afterwards repaired to Chartres, where he performed preciſely the ſame ceremony. This was an ancient cuſtom: In a tranſaction of the year 1329, between the Curates of Paris and St. Sepulchre's church, it is ſaid, "That a dying perſon ſhall "be at liberty to chuſe being buried in that "church, but that his body ſhall be firſt carried

"to

" to the church of the pariſh in which he dies, " and the Curate of that pariſh ſhall be entitled " to half of the lights, and alſo to one half of " what ſhall ariſe from the cloaths and horſes " (ex pannis & equis) that ſhall be preſented, at " his interment in St. Sepulchre's church." At the ſervice performed at St. Dennis in 1489, for Betrand Dugueſclin, by order of Charles VI. " The Biſhop who celebrated maſs, received the " preſent of the horſes which were preſented as " an offering, by placing his hand upon their " heads; they were afterwards led back, but a " compoſition was agreed upon for the right of " the abbey, to which they had devolved."

In 1329, Peter de Cugneres, the king's counſel in parliament, pleaded againſt the uſurpations of the Eccleſiaſtics in matters of temporal juſtice. The judgment of Philip de Valois appeared favourable to the Clergy, who endeavoured to teſtify their gratitude to him, by honours and titles, they gave him the appellation of *Catholic-King*; and as the victory of Caſſel, and the ſolemn act that prince had done at Paris and Chartres, were ſtill recent; I am inclinable to believe, that it was at this period, that each of thoſe two churches erected an equeſtrian ſtatue to his memory. What is very certain, is that the church of Sens*, erected

* Peter du Roger, archbiſhop of Sens, ſpoke for the Eccleſiaſtics, and deviſed this teſtimony of their gratitude towards Philip de Valois, to ſupply the tythes which that prince hoped to receive from the clergy.

erected a ſtatue to him at that time, *like that* (ſays du Breul, p. 21.) *of this king in our church of Paris*; beneath which ſtatue at Sens two lines are inſcribed, wherein he receives the title of Defender of the Rights of the Church.

The author of the Treatiſe upon the ancient offenſive and defenſive Arms of the French, printed at Blaiſe, in 1635, ſays, p. 113. "That "Philip the Fair, having fixed the ſeat of Parlia- "ment, the knights who there preſided, in order "to diſtinguiſh themſelves from the lawyers, had "caps made in the ſhape of their helmets, and "that this is the origin of the Mortiers, from "whence the preſidents, à Mortier, take their "name:" for it was not, he adds, till the reign of Philip the Long, that caſques were invented of a conic form, ſpreading as they came down upon the ſhoulders like an inverted top, ſuch as we ſee upon Philip de Valois in Notre Dame at Paris: it was imagined this would remove the inconveniency ariſing from the flatneſs of helmets, upon which a well aimed blow with a club, muſt have cleaved the ſkull of him who wore it: but theſe helmets were afterwards found ſo heavy, that an alteration was again made in them.

End of the Second Volume.

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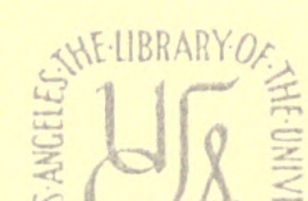

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